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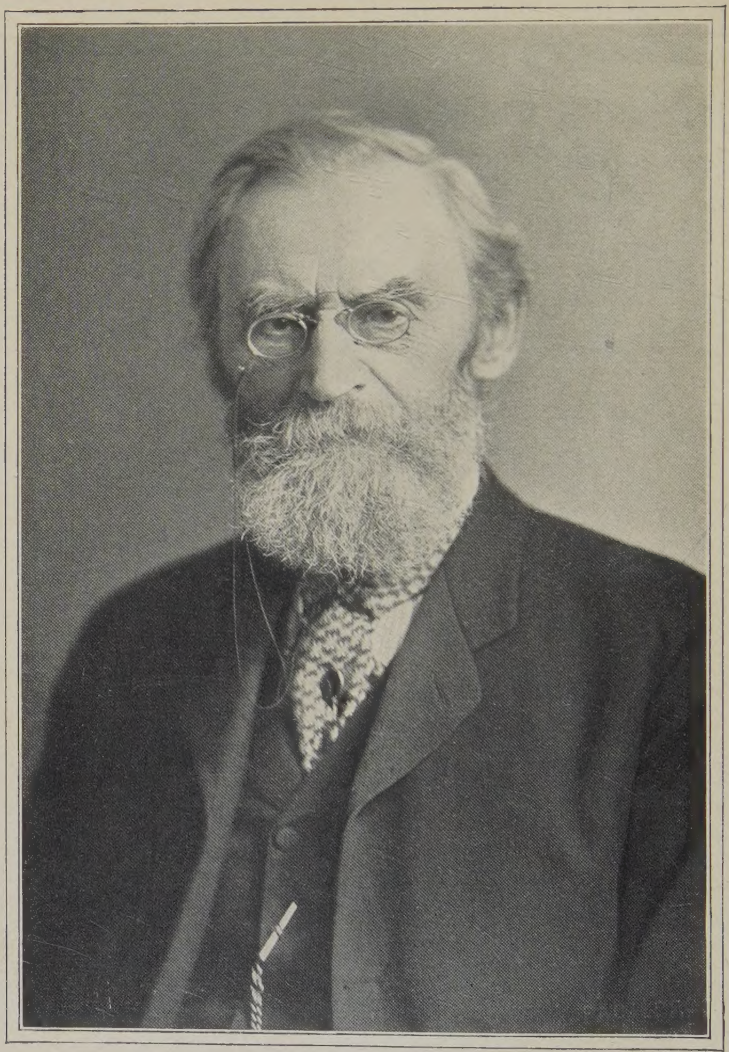

CARL SCHURZ

MAR 1 3 1914

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS POLITICAL, MORAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

BY

ALBERT BERNHARDT FAUST

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

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PART II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

WITH REFERENCE TO THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY; WITH REFERENCE TO POLITICS, EDUCATION, CULTURE, SOCIAL AND ETHICAL STANDARDS

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

The value of any foreign immigration is dependent upon two factors, first, upon the readiness of its assimilation with the native stock, and secondly, upon the more positive quality of favorable influence upon the adopted country. In the historical outline presented in the first volume, the value of the German element becomes manifest mainly when measured by the standard of assimilation. This assimilating process was accelerated by three causes: first, by kinship with other leading formative elements of the nation; secondly, by equal distribution of the German population over the whole territory of the United States; and finally, by the extensive settlement of the German colonists on the frontier and in Western territory, where the moulding forces typically American were most potent.

It will be the purpose of the remaining portion of the present work to apply to the German element the second standard of measurement, that of favorable influence upon the land and people of the United States. Frequent illustrations of such influence have already been furnished in the historical narrative of the first volume. From the very beginning of the colonial period and continuously throughout the history of the United States, the Germans were seen to furnish brawn, brain, and blood in the building of

colonies and cities, in the development of the nation's material resources, in the struggle against wild nature and savage foes, in the war for political independence, and in the rescue of the Union from disruption and disgrace. Such service is equivalent to favorable influence.

Still it is possible and useful to trace influences of another kind. When Baron Steuben became the inspector-general and drill-master of the American army, he was not only grafting the system of Prussian military discipline on the American root, but he was also exercising a function in which the German nation has led the world, that of the teacher and scholar. The German cosmographers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries furnished the charts and maps that directed the mariners of all nations on their voyages of discovery. In the nineteenth century Germany's schools, from the kindergarten to the university, furnished models for imitation, nowhere to greater advantage than in the United States. Influences of this kind are of historical significance, not only for the recipient, but also for the nation that gives; since that people should be rated highest that has yielded the most frequent and lasting influences upon the human world.[1]

The reproach is frequently heard, coming from their kinsmen abroad, that the Germans in the United States did not adequately impress their particular type of culture or civilization upon American life. The criticism is based upon a misconception of conditions. The German people came to America not as conquerors, but as immigrants seeking homes. Not alone in the physical sense is America a crucible of nations, in which the representatives of all European races are thrown together with the native American for the survival of the fittest, but in the matter of all cul-

[1] Cf. Karl Lamprecht, *Americana*, p. 96. (Freiburg i/B 1906.)

tural values also a similar melting process takes place. No incoming stock can infuse into the American mould any element of its culture unless a thorough test has gone before. If the process prove the fitness of the new, an ally may often be found in the native American, who will strive earnestly for its recognition and final adoption. Thus it happened with German music. The beginnings of the development of musical taste were difficult, yet the Germans were aided in their final victory by the coöperation of New England, which of all localities had been at first most conservative.

The examination of influences such as have taken root in American soil, either planted by the German element in the United States or brought over from Germany by native Americans, will be the purpose of the remaining part of this work. The subject has been divided into eight chapters, of which two are concerned with the material development of the country as far as that has come under German influence, (*a*) agriculture and allied manufactures, (*b*) industries requiring special training, and several others in which Germans are prominent. One chapter is devoted to the Germans in American politics, another outlines Germany's influence upon the American educational system. Two chapters treat of the Germans in music and the fine arts, illustration and caricature, literature and journalism. The concluding chapter attempts to define the social and moral influence of the Germans in localities where they are thickly settled.

In view of the fact that the question has frequently been raised, whether the German influence has been commensurate with the volume of the German population in the United States, the writer has considered it essential that a numerical estimate of the German element be placed at

the very beginning[1] of an examination of German influences. After careful investigation, the writer has found that the number of persons of German blood, while vast in amount, representing more than one fourth of the total white population of the United States, is nevertheless not so large as has often been supposed. Lacking this accurate knowledge, foreign critics have frequently been quite unfair in their demands of the German element in the United States. The question of proportionate influence cannot be finally answered until the influence of each of the great formative elements in the population of the United States has been determined. As far as investigations have proceeded at the present time, the German element has nothing to fear from comparisons. Some of the difficulties encountered in the search for German influences, and the methods employed, were outlined in the Preface contained in Volume I.

[1] See Chapter I. The writer wishes to repeat here that in the preparation of this estimate he is indebted for advice and criticism to Walter F. Willcox, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in Cornell University.

CHAPTER I

AN ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF PERSONS OF GERMAN BLOOD IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Previous investigations — Mannhardt's work reviewed by Böckh — Division of the subject into three problems:

I. The total number of persons of German parentage in the United States in 1900.

II. The number of persons of German blood in the United States in 1790, and the number of their descendants in 1900.

III. The number of the descendants of German immigrants of the period 1790–1900 not already enumerated.

The addition of the results of these questions yields a total of about eighteen millions, which represents approximately the number of persons of German blood within the United States in 1900. — Comparison with the numerical strength of the English and Irish elements.

THE question, how much German blood exists in the population of the United States, has never been satisfactorily answered. The most elaborate attempt to reach a conclusion about it has been made by Emil Mannhardt.[1] His work was reviewed by the German statistician, Richard Böckh,[2] of the University of Berlin, who clearly proved the faults of Mannhardt's methods and the error of his conclusion, viz., that the number of persons of German blood in the population of the United States should be rated as high as 25,000,000, or above. Mannhardt's work is nevertheless suggestive, and his pioneer attempt to determine by statistical methods what is the amount of German blood

[1] His work appeared in two articles contained in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*. Vierteljahrschrift. Jahrgang III (1903), Heft 3, pp. 12–31; Heft 4, pp. 49–56.

[2] See *Deutsche Erde*, III, Heft 4. (1903.)

in the population of the United States is worthy of some regard, considering the importance of the subject. The opinion that Böckh expresses, to be sure without the secure foundation of proof, is that the population of German blood is in all probability numerically no larger than 18,000,000. Considering his eminence as an authority in all statistical matters, the estimate of Böckh is valuable. With the advantage of this work going before, and that of some of the best American statisticians who have struggled with the subject of foreign population, the attempt will be made in the following pages to get nearer to an accurate result. Though an entirely satisfactory solution remain forever unattainable, the importance of the subject nevertheless justifies renewed investigation, which will dispel somewhat the obscurity enveloping the subject, and remove perhaps the tendency to exaggerate upon impressions.

The subject will be divided into three parts, each containing a distinct problem: —

I. What was the total number of persons of German parentage residing in the United States in 1900? This will include all the Germans born in Germany or of mixed[1] parentage and their descendants of the first generation.

II. How many persons of German blood were contained in the population of 1790, and how numerous were their descendants living in 1900?

III. How numerous were the descendants of the German immigrations between 1790 and 1900, not enumerated as a foreign element in the Census Report of 1900; i. e., how numerous were the descendants of the second and third

[1] Mixed parentage is used here to mean all persons having one parent born in Germany and the other in some other foreign country; or all persons having one parent born in Germany and the other in the United States. (As used in the Census Reports the term mixed parentage does not include the latter class.)

generations (grandchildren and great-grandchildren), of the immigrations of the nineteenth century (including the decade 1790 to 1800)?

I

The twelfth census of the United States, taken in the year 1900,[1] gives as the total enumeration of white persons of German parentage, having both parents born in Germany (including foreign and native-born), the figure 6,244,107. In addition to this there is given a total of 1,585,574 white persons in the United States with one parent German, the other native. To avoid counting any of these twice, or being unfair to some other national stock, this number should be divided by two, giving 792,787. The total of white persons having one parent born in Germany, the other born in some other European country,[2] was 410,566. We may assume that mixed marriages were far more often contracted between people of the same blood and speaking the same language; thus, for instance, a person born in Germany would marry an Austrian or Russian when that person was of German blood and spoke German. The fraction one half would therefore not accurately represent the German blood in this class. Taking two thirds as the correct measure, we get 273,710. Adding these results, we get a total of 7,310,604, representing white persons of German blood, of German parentage.

Many European countries contain a large German contingent in their population, and one would suppose that in the emigration from such a country each stock would be represented in exact proportion to its percentage of the

[1] *Census Reports*, volume i, Population, part i (1901), p. cxc (table LXXXVIII).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 836 and 840 (tables LI and LIII).

population. But a recent article of Richard Böckh [1] has proved such an assumption erroneous. The eminent German statistician reviews the work of the United States Commission of Immigration, and furnishes a table showing the immigrations to the United States within the period 1898–1904, during which for the first time the immigrants were enumerated by stock and race, independently of the country from which they came. During these six years 151,118 Germans came from the German Empire, while more than twice that number, viz., 315,744 Germans (including 26,306 Dutch and Flemish), came from other countries, the largest contingents being furnished by Austria-Hungary, Russia, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Russia furnishes an interesting case. During the same period, of the 625,607 immigrants to the United States from the Russian Empire, only 2 per cent were of Russian stock (in the population the Slavic stock constitutes 70 per cent), while 41.9 per cent were Hebrews, 26.5 per cent Poles, 11.4 per cent Finns, 10.1 per cent Lithuanians, 6.8 per cent Germans, and 1.3 per cent Scandinavians. These percentages by no means correspond to the representation of the various stocks in the population of the Russian Empire, but furnish a measure of the oppression practiced upon these peoples. Another factor which enters into consideration is a fondness exhibited for emigration by some peoples, while others appear very reluctant to leave their homes. Thus the Germans of Switzerland, Belgium, and some of the border provinces have migrated in far greater

[1] *Deutsche Erde*, Jahrgang 1906, Heft 3–4, pp. 95–137 : "Die Ermittelung des Volkstums der Einwanderer in die Vereinigten Staaten." The article, translated by Mr. C. H. Ibershoff, appeared also in the *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, N. S. no. 76 (vol. x), December, 1906—"The Determination of Racial Stock among American Immigrants, by Professor Richard Boeckh."

numbers than the French contingent of the population. The figures of the French immigration to the United States have decreased very greatly (almost one half) since Alsace-Lorraine has been annexed by Germany. Those provinces contained a large German stock, which when coming to this country was classed as French in the immigration statistics of the United States.

In the attempt to estimate the number of persons of German stock in the immigrations from Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands, Russia, Switzerland, etc., account must be taken of the percentage of Germans in the population of those countries, but corrections must be made in accordance with the methods suggested by Böckh. For Austria-Hungary the Census Report of 1900 gives separate categories for Austria proper, Bohemia, and Hungary.

"Austria" in the Census Report is equivalent to the German provinces of Austria, whose population we may take to be completely German. The total of white persons, with both parents born in Austria, living in the United States in 1900 was 408,566.[1] White persons, with one parent born in Austria, one born in the United States, numbered 26,450, of whom one half, viz., 13,225, would belong to our count. White persons with one parent born in Austria, the other in some other foreign country, numbered 55,562; taking one third this number to represent the pure German blood, we get 18,520. The three totals together amount to 439,912.

Bohemia contains a mixed population, of which about 63 per cent is Slavic, 37 per cent German.[2] The latter have for a long time been the oppressed part of the population,

[1] Cf. *Census Reports*, *supra*, pp. cxc, 836, 840.

[2] Cf. Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, pp. 12, 20. (Berlin, 1904.)

and therefore more likely to emigrate. Taking forty per cent of the immigration to the United States as German would, therefore, not misrepresent conditions. In 1900 the total of white persons with both parents born in Bohemia (325,379), plus one half those with one parent Bohemian and one native (one half of 31,451), plus one third those with one parent Bohemian and the other of some other foreign country (one third of 20,102), was 347,804. Forty per cent of this number, viz., 139,216, represents the German blood in the Bohemian immigration.

Proceeding by a similar method with the Russian immigration, we find that the total from Russia would be represented by persons with both parents born in Russia (669,764), plus one half those with one parent Russian, the other native (one half of 15,412), plus one third those with one parent Russian, and the other born in some other foreign country (one third of 47,498); giving the sum 693,303. The Germans in Russia number only two per cent of the population, but from 1898 to 1904 they constituted 6.8 per cent of the Russian immigration to the United States. Presumably they always emigrated in numbers out of proportion to their percentage of population, and their percentage of the total Russian immigration was undoubtedly higher when the Hebrews and Poles did not leave Russia in such large numbers. In the Baltic provinces the Germans number 6.5 per cent, in Russian Poland five per cent of the population.[1] An average of six per cent seems fair, remembering the migratory spirit of the Germans. Six per cent of 693,303 will give 41,598.

Poland is named as a separate foreign country in the Census Reports, though such a country has long ceased to exist. A division, "German Poland," is given (p. clxx, table

[1] Cf. *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, p. 70.

LXXIX) which means the Polish provinces of Prussia, where forty-five to seventy per cent of the inhabitants are of German blood and speech. The number given by the Census in 1900, as born in German Poland, was 150,232 (p. clxx). Giving them the same increase as the other Poles, they, with their children born in the United States, probably numbered 300,000 in the year 1900. Taking one half of these as of German blood we obtain 150,000.

Over seventy per cent of the population of Switzerland is of German blood;[1] still the German population has been far more migratory than the Romance elements, and seventy-five per cent of the immigration to the United States would represent the German contingent more fairly. Computing the Swiss immigration as those above, we obtain three figures: (1) for white persons with both parents born in Switzerland, 187,906; (2) one half of 67,211, viz., 33,605; (3) one third of 77,312, viz., 25,770; making a total of 247,281, seventy-five per cent of which would make 185,460.

The population of Holland is of as pure German (Low German) stock as that of any part of the German Empire. The Census of 1900 (p. clxx) gives 105,098 as the number born in Holland and living in the United States. The ratio of Germans born in Germany to white persons of German parentage in the United States is as 1 : 2.7. Multiplying the number of Dutch by 2.7, we get for the number of persons of Dutch parentage in 1900 the figure 283,764.

While the German population of Belgium is about four sevenths of the total number of inhabitants, Böckh's table shows that the Germans compose about seventy per cent of the immigration coming from Belgium. Giving Luxem-

[1] Cf. *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, p. 83.

burg the same ratio, and computing as above, i. e., adding the Belgians (29,848) to the Luxemburgers (3041), multiplying by 2.7 and taking seventy per cent, we get as the total, 62,160.

The results summarized will appear as follows: —

Total of white persons having both parents born in Germany	6,244,107
Total of white persons having one parent born in Germany, the other native	792,787
Total of white persons having one parent born in Germany, the other in some other foreign country	273,710
Total of Germans from Austria	439,912
Total of Germans from Bohemia	139,216
Total of Germans from Russia	41,598
Total of Germans from Poland	150,000
Total of Germans from Switzerland	185,460
Total of Germans from Holland	283,764
Total of Germans from Belgium and Luxemburg	62,160
Total of Germans from other countries [1]	87,286
	8,700,000

This is the answer to the first question, viz., eight million, seven hundred thousand.

II

In Volume I, Chapter X, the total number of Germans and their descendants in the Colonies in 1775 was estimated at 225,000. The increase until 1790 was probably about fifty per cent. That is the percentage obtained in a comparison of Bancroft's estimate of the white popula-

[1] "Other countries" here include such as Hungary (where the Germans number 11.9 per cent of the population), France (Alsace and Lorraine), Norway and Sweden, Denmark, Roumania (which between 1898 and 1904 sent 1043 Germans). A correction should also be added for Germans of mixed parentage, and for such as might have failed of identification in the large group (1,079,366) called "Other Countries" (*Census*, p. cxc). Adding these we get a correction of something less than 100,000; the figure 87,286 has been used to make an even count.

tion in 1775 (2,100,000) with the number given by the Census of 1790, which was 3,172,000. If we add to the fifty per cent increase, which for the German population is 112,500, some five or six thousand Hessians and a mite for immigration during the period 1784–1790, we get about 345,000.

In order to reach an estimate by another method, the writer has examined the Census Report of 1790 by counties, and estimated the number of Germans in every then existing county of the United States which was known to possess a German population. He has endeavored to correct his own estimate, derived from historical studies, by evidence deduced from the files of the Census of 1790 kept in the Census Bureau at Washington. He has examined a large number of the manuscript returns preserved in the archives of the Census Bureau and attempted to estimate the percentage of German names to the rest of the population.[1] The result in many cases was a verification of the ratio obtained from historical study. In the case of the counties of North and South Carolina, however, it was remarkable to see to what extent German names had been anglicized,[2] and the result was a cutting-down of historical estimates in order to insure against overstatement. In the German counties of Pennsylvania and Maryland, however, German names seemed to be abundant enough to justify very large ratios such as used

[1] The Census Office has recently published the complete lists (as far as possible) of the names in the Census of 1790.

[2] Such changes as Jungblut to Youngblood, Schwab to Swope, are not difficult to detect, but most of them, e. g., the Carpenters (Zimmermann), Smiths, Millers, and numerous others, cannot possibly be distinguished. Another unfortunate feature about the Census of 1790 is that so many parts have been lost, not only returns of counties but whole states. They were destroyed when the city of Washington was burned by the British.

below. In the table[1] here given, the census figures (of 1790) for the county are given first, then the estimate of the German population; the total population of each state is added in a column to the right.

	German.	*Total Population in 1790.*
New England:		
Maine, Lincoln County (29,962)	1,500	96,540
Massachusetts, Suffolk County (44,875)	1,000	
Franklin County (present name)	500	
Total	3,000	378,787
New York: Counties —		
Dutchess (45,266), $\frac{1}{5}$	9,000	
Montgomery (28,848)	20,000	
Schoharie (9808 in 1800)	3,000	
All other counties	5,000	
Total	37,000	340,120
New Jersey:		
Hunterdon (20,153), Morris (16,216), Somerset (12,296); one third of total	16,000	
All other counties	4,000	
Total	20,000	184,139
Pennsylvania:		
Allegheny (10,309) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,700	
Berks (30,179) $\frac{1}{2}$	15,000	
Cumberland (18,243) $\frac{2}{5}$	7,000	
Dauphin (18,177) $\frac{2}{5}$	7,000	
Franklin (15,655) $\frac{1}{3}$	5,300	
Lancaster (36,147) 70 %	25,000	
Montgomery (22,929) 50 % plus	12,000	
Northampton (24,250) $\frac{1}{3}$	8,000	
Philadelphia (54,391) $\frac{1}{3}$ plus	20,000	
Washington (23,866)	7,000	
York (37,747)	25,000	
Other counties, (Bucks Center, Chester, Delaware, Fayette, Huntington, Luzern, Monroe, Northumberland) (152,285) $\frac{1}{6}$	25,000	
Total	160,000	434,373

[1] Cf. *Census Reports*, volume i. Population, part i, table iv, — Population of States and Territories by counties, at each census, 1790–1900, pp. 9 ff. (1901.)

Maryland:		
Baltimore (38,937) $\frac{1}{3}$	13,000	
Allegany (4,809) $\frac{1}{3}$	1,600	
Frederick (30,791) $\frac{2}{3}$	20,000	
Washington (15,822)	6,400	
All other counties	2,000	
Total	43,000	319,728
Delaware:		
Newcastle (19,688) $\frac{1}{6}$	3,000	59,096
Virginia:		
Augusta (10,886) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,600	
Botetourt (10,524) $\frac{1}{5}$	2,000	
Culpeper (22,105) $\frac{1}{4}$	5,000	
Fairfax (Alexandria) (12,320) $\frac{1}{10}$	1,200	
Fauquier (17,892) $\frac{1}{3}$	5,500	
Orange (9,921) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,200	
Rockingham (7,449)	3,500	
Shenandoah (10,510)	6,000	
Spottsylvania (11,252) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,000	
Other counties (Henrico, Mecklenburg, etc.) (37,500)	2,000	
Total	35,000	691,737
West Virginia:		
Berkeley (19,713) $\frac{1}{3}$	6,000	
Greenbrier (6,015)	2,000	
Hampshire (7,346)	2,000	
Hardy (7,336)	2,000	
Harrison, Ohio, Pendleton, etc. (together 10,000)	3,000	
Total	15,000	55,873
Georgia:		
Effingham (2,424)	1,800	
Chatham (10,769) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,500	
Richmond (11,317) $\frac{1}{3}$	3,700	
Total	9,000	82,548
North Carolina:		
Craven (10,469)	3,000	
Guilford (7,191)	1,500	
Iredell (5,435)	1,800	
Lincoln (9,224)	2,200	
Mecklenburg (11,395)	2,500	
Stokes (8,528)	5,000	
Rowan (15,828)	3,000	
Montgomery, Randolph (12,000) $\frac{1}{12}$	1,000	
Total	20,000	393,751

South Carolina:		
Abbeville (9,197) $\frac{1}{4}$	2,500	
Beaufort (18,753) $\frac{1}{4}$	4,600	
Charleston (46,647) $\frac{1}{10}$	4,500	
Edgefield (13,289) $\frac{1}{4}$	3,000	
Newberry (9,342) $\frac{1}{4}$	2,400	
Orangeberg (18,513) 60 %	11,000	
Richland (3,930) $\frac{1}{3}$	1,000	
Other counties	1,000	
Total	30,000	249,073

The summary of results is as follows: —

New England	3,000
New York	37,000
New Jersey	20,000
Pennsylvania	160,000
Maryland	43,000
Delaware	3,000
Virginia and West Virginia	50,000
North Carolina	20,000
South Carolina	30,000
Georgia	9,000
Total	375,000

Comparing this total with the one derived from the first estimate, viz., 345,000, the more accurate figure may lie between the two, viz., 360,000.

The Dutch population in the United States and their descendants in 1790 ought also to be included in the estimate of the German blood. The Dutch are Low Germans, racially of the same stock as the other Germans of the low countries stretching along the German seas. Their history was for centuries closely connected with that of the other North German States, and the population is German (Niederdeutsch, Low German) of purer[1] blood than that of any of the eastern provinces of the German Empire. No attempt has ever been made to estimate the number

[1] The population of Holland is 5,104,000, and only about 20,000 of these are not Low Germans. Cf. F. H. Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, p. 89.

of the Dutch in the United States prior to 1790. O'Callaghan states that the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies of New York in 1664 numbered 10,000.[1] Dexter[2] estimates the number of persons in New Netherland in 1664 as 7000; he states that nine years later the Dutch estimated their own contingent in the colony as about 6000 or 7000, to which he adds perhaps half as many English and other whites, which brought the total population to about 10,000 in 1673, at the temporary restoration. Six thousand original Dutch settlers, doubling their number every twenty-three years, would make about 200,000 Dutch descendants in 1790. If they had maintained their percentage of the population, i. e., six tenths, to seven tenths as in 1673, their numbers in 1790 would have been between 204,000 and 238,000. It is probable, however, that the greater influx of English settlers, owing to English dominion over New York, retarded the increase of the Dutch settlers. A conservative estimate, therefore, of the Dutch in New York State in 1790 would be 200,000. We should add about 40,000 for the Dutch located in other states, not more, because most have been counted with the German settlers, from whom they were hardly distinguishable. The total for the Dutch population of the United States in 1790 would therefore be about 240,000. This number of the Dutch in the United States in 1790, added to the estimated German population, 360,000, makes a total of 600,000 for the population of German blood in the United States at the first census in 1790.[3]

[1] Dutch local authorities give this number. Cf. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, vol. ii, p. 540.

[2] Franklin B. Dexter, *Estimate of Population in the American Colonies; Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, N. S., vol. v, p. 33.

[3] Professor Böckh's estimate for the Germans and Dutch together was larger. In conversation with the writer, in July, 1907, he named as the total

According to the estimates obtained in the succeeding paragraphs, the population of 1790 increased about ten and one half times until 1900. This would make the descendants of the 600,000 Germans equivalent to a population of about 6,300,000 in 1900.

III

The third question presents very great difficulties. It involves the whole question of the rate of increase of the foreign immigrations in the nineteenth century, as compared with the native population, their death-rate, their average age at arrival, the number of females compared with males, and last but not least the correction of errors in the statistics of immigrations. Mannhardt has evaded most of these difficulties in a table which he has constructed showing what he estimates to be the increase of the German immigrations from 1820 to 1900.[1] He begins with the period when immigrants coming in at the ports of the United States were counted for the first time, namely, in 1821. He takes the Germans, the Swiss, and part of the Austrians as included in the German element. He begins by estimating that 10,000 represents the number of Germans entering the United States between 1821 and 1830, including a ten per cent increase within the decade. In 1831–1840 the number of German immigrants, according to his figures, was 157,265, plus a ten per cent increase, 15,726, making a total of 172,991. The 10,000 of the first decade and the 173,095 of the second decade would increase at the rate of thirty per cent for every ten

800,000; but being in bad health (he died the following winter), he was not able to put his hands on the statistics he had gathered on the subject many years before.

[1] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Vierteljahrschrift 1903, Heft 3, pp. 28 ff.

years. Thus would also every succeeding immigration, and taking the totals together he gets 12,266,291 as the number of Germans and their descendants of the first, second, and third generations surviving in 1900. From this number he subtracts the number of Germans (including Swiss, etc.) who were reported born abroad by the United States Census of 1900, making 3,059,090, plus the Germans of the first generation descended from them, estimated from the Census Report as 5,461,540, making together 8,520,630, and gets after the subtraction a total of 3,745,661. This latter number represents the Germans of the second and third generations who were descended from the German immigrations of 1821 to 1900. They were not classed as of German parentage, but as native-born by the Census of 1900.

Mannhardt adopts the same method to get a total representing the entire foregoing immigrations and their descendants for the period 1820 to 1900; that is, he uses a thirty per cent increase for every ten years and a ten per cent increase of immigrants within the decade. His result is a total of 35,423,436.[1] That would leave[2] for the native stock 31,567,342. The total number of descendants of the second and third generations of the foreign immigration between 1820 and 1900 Mannhardt estimates at 9,492,131.[3]

But Mannhardt's tables are open to criticism. In the first place, there is no attempt to estimate the immigration before 1820. Secondly, the ratio of increase did not remain fixed at thirty per cent, but was a constantly varying quantity from decade to decade.

Far more accurate and trustworthy have been the results

[1] *Geschichtsblätter*, 1903, Heft 4, p. 52.

[2] Subtracting the total from 66,990,788, which represents the total white population of the United States in 1900.

[3] *Geschichtsblätter*, 1903, Heft 4, p. 51.

of Jarvis and Mayo-Smith. Jarvis based his work upon the researches of George Tucker.[1] The latter prepared an estimate of the foreign immigration from 1790 to 1840 with as much accuracy as probably will ever be possible to attain. In deriving his figures before 1800 and immediately after he takes account of the work of his predecessors, particularly of the German statistician Seybert, and improves upon them.

Tucker estimates the foreign immigrations and their descendants during each of the decades as follows:[2]

1790–1800	58,000
1800–1810	82,000
1810–1820	113,400
1820–1830	231,400
1830–1840	540,000

Jarvis continues the work of Tucker (correcting the census lists), as follows:[3]

1840–1850	1,711,161
1850–1860	2,766,495
1860–1870	2,424,390

Mayo-Smith[4] adds the decade—

1870–1880	3,162,502[5]

Jarvis made an attempt to estimate the number of descendants from these decennial immigrations, and then he compared the total with his estimate of the native-born

[1] *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years, as exhibited by the Decennial Census*, by George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in the University of Virginia. (New York, 1843.)

[2] Tucker, *ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

[3] Edward Jarvis, "Immigration," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xxix, Boston, 1872 (April), pp. 454–468.

[4] Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration; A Study in Social Happiness*, pp. 59–60. (Scribner's: New York, 1892.)

[5] *The Census Report, supra*, p. cii, gives for the decade 1881–1890 a total immigration of 5,246,613; for 1891–1900, 3,687,564.

descended from the population of 1790. He calculated that in 1870 the number of whites of foreign descent was 11,607,394, as compared with 21,479,595, representing those descended from the native population of 1790. Mayo-Smith used the same method of calculation for 1870 to 1880 and obtained

For the number of whites of foreign descent	18,000,000
For the white population descended from the natives of 1790	25,500,000
Until 1888 (the date of publication of his book) he estimated for those of foreign descent	25,000,000
For those of native descent	29,000,000

The method was as follows: "For instance, take the decade 1870–1880. During that period the white population increased by 9,815,981. There arrived during the decade 2,944,695 immigrants. In 1880 these immigrants had lived here an average of 3.7 years. Allowing them an increase during that period of two per cent per annum, the total number of immigrants and their descendants in 1880 would have been 3,162,502. This would leave 6,653,479 as the natural increase of the white population exclusive of the immigrants, or 19.48 per cent in ten years. This rate of increase applies equally to those of the white population in 1870 who were descendants of colonists and those who were descendants of immigrants."[1]

In a later work[2] Mayo-Smith brought the calculation down to 1890. The immigration proved larger than was expected, and the result was

For those of foreign descent	26,000,000
For those of native descent	29,000,000

If the same method of computation be followed down to 1900 the result will be that the two elements will show equal strength, each numbering one half the total white

[1] Mayo-Smith, p. 59.

[2] *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 328.

population, which in 1900 was 66,990,788; each therefore would amount to 33,495,394.[1]

This calculation, which seems as nearly accurate as can be obtained in the face of great difficulties, furnishes two very important results. In the first place, we are shown that the native white element in the United States which was descended from the population of 1790, increased a little more than *ten and one half times* (10.56), from 3,172,006 in 1790 to 33,495,394 in 1900.[2] In the second place, we can determine the number of persons born in the United States descended from foreign immigrations between 1790 and 1900 who were not enumerated in the Census of 1900 under the class "of foreign parentage." In other words, we can determine the number of descendants, of the second and succeeding generations of the foreign immigrations of the nineteenth century. The German element among this number will furnish the answer to the third question, the surviving immigrants of the nineteenth century and their descendants of the first generation having been counted in the first question.

In the Census Report of 1900, we find (p. cxc) that the

Total number of white persons having both parents born abroad was	20,839,260
White persons having one parent born abroad, but the other native in the United States was 5,089,202; the foreign blood would be one half [3]	2,544,601
Total of white persons of foreign parentage	23,383,861
According to the calculation above, the total number representing the entire foreign element in 1900 was	33,495,394

[1] Cf. W. L. Anderson, *The Country Town* (New York, 1906), chap. ix, "The Pressure of the Immigrant," pp. 157 ff.

[2] This result has been used to complete the answer to question II.

[3] Anderson, *supra*, pp. 158–159, fails to divide this number by two, and erroneously gets seven and one half millions as the number of foreign descendants of the second and succeeding generations. Mannhardt by a faulty method got 9,492,131 (see above).

There would be left for the descendants of immigrants of the nineteenth century of the second and succeeding generations 10,111,533

The question now arises, what part of these 10,111,533 persons were of German blood? Referring again to the Census Report (p. cxciv, table LXXXIX), we find that the foreign parentage representing Germany amounted to 30.2 per cent of the entire foreign parentage. Adding to this a fraction of the percentage of the immigrations from countries sending large German contingents, e. g., three fourths of Switzerland's 1 per cent, two fifths of Bohemia's 1.4 per cent, Austria's 1.7 per cent, etc., we get easily $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, or one third, as the German part of the whole immigration. We get the same result, i. e., $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, if we try another method. The total immigration between 1821, when our records begin, and 1880, after which there would hardly be any descendants of the second generation, was 10,181,044.[1] Taking the German, over three million, with the Swiss, Dutch, and German-Austrian immigrants, we get easily one third.

The figure we had above for the total number of descendants of the second and succeeding generations was 10,111,533, one third of which would be 3,370,511. Three million three hundred and seventy thousand is therefore the answer to the third question.

SUMMARY

Under the first head, the population of German parentage in the United States, the total given was 8,700,000. The German population of 1790, together with the Dutch, was estimated at 600,000: an increase of 10.56 times makes 6,326,000. Adding to these figures the answer of the third

[1] Cf. *Census Report*, 1900, *supra*, p. cii.

question, the number of people descended from the German immigrations since 1790, not before enumerated, viz., 3,370,000, we get a final count: —

I,	8,700,000
II,	6,336,000
III,	3,370,000
Total	18,406,000

This number is a conservative estimate, and future investigators may add to the number of the Germans, especially in the first category. On the basis of the above calculation, we may say that the persons of German blood in the United States number between eighteen and nineteen millions, or about 27½ per cent of the total white population of the United States.

This German blood is diffused over a far larger portion of the population than is represented by eighteen to nineteen millions; it may be diffused over twice that number of persons; the question as to how far the German blood is carried through the entire American people, is one beyond all possibilities of calculation. Twenty-seven and one half per cent represents the amount of German blood in the American people in relation to the other formative elements. In order to give the German contribution a proper setting, it is necessary to make an attempt at an estimate, however imperfect, of the amount of English and Irish (including both Scotch and Irish) blood in the nation. These three elements by far outclass the contributions from all other countries.

Using the same methods as applied to the German blood, we find question I (depending upon the Census Report of 1900), and question III (depending for its solution upon the statistical investigations of Tucker — Jarvis — Mayo-Smith) are not difficult to answer. The uncer-

tainty lies in the answer to question II, viz., what is the number representing each of the various national stocks in the population of 1790? The question of race and stock was never applied by the early census-takers, nor did the early historians pay any attention to it. Only very tentative estimates can therefore be made, based on impressions received from contemporaneous accounts and from the history of colonial settlements.

The German population in 1790, including the Dutch, has been estimated above at 600,000. The Scotch-Irish population was estimated by Hanna[1] as 385,000 at the outbreak of the Revolution. This estimate seems fair, if we take Scotch-Irish to include both the Scotch and Irish, the latter embracing both the Protestant and Catholic Irish. Their increase in 1790 would make about 600,000, i. e., the same in amount as the German and Dutch together. As far as the present investigator was able to ascertain, there has been no attempt made to estimate the English element. If some such method as adopted for the German or for the Scotch and Irish be used, the result obtained indicates that the English stock numbered about 1,500,000 in 1790, i. e., about one half the white population. This estimate is little better than a guess, but it is a serviceable one to work with, and perhaps hits not far from the mark. If the English stock numbered 1,500,000, the Germans and the Irish each 600,000, there would be left out of the 3,172,000 white persons enumerated in the Census of 1790 a remainder of 472,000, representing other stocks, principally the French, Scandinavians, Jews, and Slavs. However unsatisfactory these estimates may be, they are quite

[1] Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish, or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America*, pp. 83-84.

within the range of maximum and minimum possibilities.

Allowing these data to stand, it becomes possible to apply exactly the same method for the English and Irish stocks as was used to determine the amount of German blood in the United States in 1900. The calculation in each case resolves itself into three parts, as above. For the English the results are as follows: —

English Element

I

White persons, with both parents born in England	1,363,301
White persons, with both parents Canadian-English	675,841
One parent born in England, one native, divided by 2	389,837
One parent Canadian-English, one native, divided by 2	312,978
One parent English or Canadian-English, the other born in some other foreign country, divided by $\frac{2}{3}$	511,102
Total	3,253,059

II

English element in 1790, viz., 1,500,000, increasing at the same rate as whole population, i. e., 10.56 times, equals	15,840,000

III

The English element in 1900 was 8.3 per cent, Canadian-English, 5 per cent of total foreign element. 13.3 per cent of 10,111,533 (descendants of immigrations since 1790 not enumerated as foreign element in census of 1900)	1,344,833
Total for English element	20,437,892

Irish and Scotch Element

I

White persons, with both parents born in Ireland	4,000,954
White persons, with one parent born in Ireland, the other native, divided by 2	488,709
White persons, with one parent born in Ireland, the other in some other foreign country, divided by $\frac{2}{3}$	321,949
Scotch parentage figured by same method, total	687,301
Total	5,498,913

II

600,000 multiplied by 10.56 equals	6,336,000

III

The Irish element in 1900 was 19.2 per cent, the Scotch 2.4 per cent of the total foreign element, together, 21.6 per cent. 21.6 per cent of 10,111,533 equals	2,184,091
Total for Scotch and Irish element	13,919,004

The three leading elements, therefore, if the above methods of calculation be correct, compare as follows: —

German element	18,400,000
English element	20,400,000
Irish and Scotch elements	13,900,000
Total	52,700,000
Leaving for other [1] national stocks, Scandinavians, French and other Latin stocks, Slavic races, Hebrews and others	14,290,000
Out of a total white population in 1900 of	66,990,000

The German is but two millions behind the largest, the English stock. By adding its large contribution, between eighteen and nineteen millions (or about 27 per cent of the entire white population of the United States) to the twenty millions or more from England, it has made the American people a Germanic nation.

[1] The writer hopes at a future time to work out more in detail the comparison of the various national and racial elements that make up the nation.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS IN THE MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

I. THEIR PROMINENCE IN AGRICULTURE AND DEPENDENT MANUFACTURES

The Germans as farmers; leading traits; as owners of homesteads; settlement of the limestone areas; their choice of land with rich forest-growth; the best farmers in the United States — American specialties produced by Germans; fruit-growing — Schwerdkopf, the first strawberry grower in New York; viniculture in California, Missouri, etc.; Anaheim, California — Adaptability of the German farmer — Allied pursuits: forestry; nurseries; gardening; landscape-gardening — The manufacture of food products: preserving and pickling; milling and manufacture of cereals; sugar and salt industries; small producers; butchers, bakers, etc.; brewing; hotels.

The Germans as farmers

If we would know the characteristics of the German farmer in the United States, we should go back again to the Pennsylvania-German of the eighteenth century. Whether located in Pennsylvania or in colonies to the north or south, this type of settler invariably showed the same unsurpassed qualifications for success in agriculture. No one has furnished us with a better characterization of the Pennsylvania-German farmer, or was better qualified to speak concerning him, than Dr. Benjamin Rush, whose sixteen rubrics, whereby the Pennsylvania-German farmer was distinguishable from the native, have been given in an early chapter.[1] By combining the features named by Dr. Rush with some of those emphasized at later periods, the characteristics of the German farmer in the eighteenth

[1] Volume I, Chapter v, pp. 131–138.

and nineteenth centuries may be summed up under the following heads: —

I. He looked for good land, preferring such as was already slightly improved. He selected land of rich forest growth, and by paying cash for it frequently displaced even native-born settlers from the best farm-lands.

II. His methods of farming were those of thoroughness and patient labor. He would clear the land carefully of stumps and stones, and aim at producing the largest possible yield per acre. He believed in a rotation of crops, so as not to exhaust the land, for he planned for the future, and with a view to permanent possession.

III. The native American farmer was wasteful; the German invariably economical. Economy was the rule of his life. He saved even the wood, which seemed so abundant, using stoves instead of huge fireplaces, constructing fences of a kind that did not squander wood. In his mode of life he was frugal, his diet was simple, his furniture plain but substantial, and his clothing of the best material, calculated to last a long time. If his standard of living was lower than that of the native population, it was best fitted to insure success in farming.

IV. He was very considerate of his live-stock, feeding his horses and cattle well, and housing them instead of letting them run wild. In the winter he kept them warm in barns or stables. He kept them hard at work, but never overworked them.

V. Everything about his place was in good order, fences, houses, gardens, and agricultural implements. He first built a great barn to keep his grain. The barn was more imposing than the house, and the particular architectural style of German barn, built first in Pennsylvania, made its way down the Ohio, and can be seen in Wisconsin, or

wherever the German abides. Before the days of the railroad, the German farmers used a wagon equally conspicuous and serviceable. The "Conestoga wagon" was a familiar sight from the Mohawk to the Carolinas, and in the later days of westward progress, its descendant crossed the plains under the familiar name of "prairie schooner." The house of the German farmer was constructed of stone for permanent occupancy, though for reasons of economy it generally took a second generation to build it. This characteristic is noticeable to-day in Wisconsin, where the dwelling of the farmer is very often built of light-colored brick.

VI. The German farmer did most of his work with his own hands, and was assisted by his wife and children. Large families on the farm were therefore a source of prosperity, and this economic fact had a tendency to produce large families. Children were welcomed as a joy, and an asset. Hired labor was used only in harvest-time.

VII. The Germans made it a matter of pride to keep their farms in their own families generation after generation. This was as true of the Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, as of the German immigrants of the nineteenth century in Wisconsin, Missouri, or Texas. They kept their own land, and bought out their neighbors of other nationalities. In the eighteenth century they kept the Irish moving, in the nineteenth, they did so with the native population. This tendency has frequently been a cause of fear for the native population. In the northern part of New York, for instance, an objection was made in Lewis County to the importation there of German farmers, the hidden reason being their great success in comparison with others.[1]

[1] Based on a statement of Professor Liberty Hyde Bailey, director of the

The above-named characteristics of the German farmer are also essentially those that insure success in farming as a profession. While one or another national stock has at times been very successful at farming, still there is none whose record has been so consistent for so long a time. The German, throughout a period of over two centuries, has proved himself the most successful farmer in the United States. Statistics show that the more recent German immigrants of the nineteenth century have upheld the ancient reputation of the German farmer in the United States. The Census Report of 1900 furnishes statistics of homesteads, farm-homes, and other homes, owned by the various national elements of the population. Under the title "farm-homes," ownership by the leading nationalities is as shown in the table on page 32.[1]

The table shows that the farmers of German parentage own 522,252 farm-homes, or almost three times as many as the next largest foreign element, viz., that of Great Britain, and almost as many as the number of farm-homes owned by the next three most successful foreign elements added together, Great Britain 183,157, Ireland 176,968, and Scandinavia 174,694. Mannhardt[2] makes an attempt to estimate the number of farms and other homesteads which each element possessed in 1900 in proportion to their numbers. He finds that out of a population of

New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University. A similar tendency has appeared under the writer's observation in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where several people of Scotch-Irish descent, representing settlers of a very early period, have complained of the Amish in Lancaster County because of their extraordinary success as farmers, and their tendency to buy up the lands of all other old families.

[1] *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, vol. ii, Population, part II, p. 742, table CXIV.

[2] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Jahrgang iv (1904), Heft 2, pp. 36 ff.

PROPRIETORSHIP OF HOMES, DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO PARENTAGE

States, Territories, and Counties	Total private families	Total Farm-Homes	OWNED		
			Free	Encumbered	Unknown
Total of all in United States	14,083,882	4,906,911	2,270,194	1,042,859	111,926
Parentage in U. S. (or unknown)	8,091,658	3,579,240	1,682,461	638,262	84,405
Austria-Hungary	192,068	34,870	16,261	10,629	655
Canada (English)	207,580	49,971	19,837	16,952	1,029
Canada (French)	159,590	24,401	10,095	8,529	417
Germany	1,982,917	522,252	227,266	156,253	10,054
Great Britain	835,513	183,157	87,786	49,278	3,987
Ireland	1,234,108	176,968	85,320	52,651	3,734
Italy	141,635	5,321	2,091	1,005	139
Poland	121,971	12,478	4,795	5,725	227
Russia	128,206	13,416	7,216	3,212	374
Scandinavia	437,516	174,694	70,788	64,873	4,170
Other countries	322,495	81,292	34,967	20,802	1,691
Mixed foreign population	228,625	48,851	21,311	14,688	1,044

10,000, the natives of Great Britain have 919 farm-homes,[1] those of Scandinavia 896, of Germany 836, of Ireland 442, of the United States (and unknown) 849. The average of all inhabitants in the United States together is 732 in 10,000. The Germans are therefore surpassed in proportion to their numbers (though not in actual numbers) by the British and Scandinavians. Of owned farm-homesteads, he calculates that the British possessed 721 in a population of 10,000, the Scandinavians 717, the Germans

[1] Owned and hired.

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611, the Irish only 354, the natives of the United States 586; the general average was 511 in 10,000. In the possession of owned other homesteads, the Germans lead all others, having 952 in a population of 10,000, the Irish next with 893, followed by the English Canadians with 719. The natives of the United States (and unknown) had 425, and the general average was 502 in 10,000.[1] The high standing of the Scandinavians in the possession of farm-homes is accounted for by the fact that they are primarily an agricultural people, and do not enter other pursuits with the same zeal. The Irish, on the other hand, living more in the cities, stand high in the possession of other homesteads, and do not show the same success in the acquiring of "farm" homesteads. The German population shows marked success in the activities of both the town and the country, taking first rank in the former, third in the latter (in proportion to their numbers). It must be remembered, however, that with greater numbers the high ratio is more difficult to maintain, and therefore the German and the native elements are at a disadvantage in comparison with most of the others. In actual numbers, persons of German parentage (i. e., born in Germany or born in the United States of German parents) surpass by far all other foreign stocks as owners of farm-homes. As the table above proves, they own 10.6 per cent of all the farm-homes in the United States, or almost as many as the English, Irish, and Scandinavian elements together. They have maintained to the present day the ancient reputation of the German agri-

[1] The natives of Great Britain have 124, Scandinavians 143 in 10,000. If we add the two ratios of farm and of other homesteads we find that the Germans own 1563 homesteads in a population of 10,000, the English Canadians 1287, the Irish 1247, the natives of the United States 1013, the Scandinavians 860, the British 845. If Mannhardt's calculation be correct, then the Germans are by far the most successful home-seekers and farm-owners of all the elements of the population.

culturists, that of being the most successful farmers in the United States.

The German influence on the development of the agricultural resources of the country cannot, however, be measured merely by the decades coming under the survey of the last census report. A constant force, German agricultural industry has been pushing the wheel of prosperity for more than two centuries. The location of the German farmers in the eighteenth century has been compared with the geological formation of the soil. "The limestone areas in a geological map of Pennsylvania would serve as a map of the German settlements. First they filled in the Limestone Island adjacent to Philadelphia, in Lancaster and Berks counties; then they crossed the Blue Ridge into the Great Valley, floored with limestone. This valley is marked by the cities of Easton, Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading, Harrisburg, etc. Following it towards the southwest along the trough between the hills, they crossed the Potomac into Central Maryland, and by 1732 following the same formation they began to occupy the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia." [1]

They continued to settle in limestone areas in every new territory, as for instance in Kentucky, where they entered the Blue-Grass Region in very large numbers during and immediately after the Revolutionary War.[2] It is an interesting experiment to examine the geological maps of the counties in Pennsylvania where there were both German and Irish settlers, such as Berks or Lancaster counties. The Germans are most numerous where the limestone appears, while the Irish are settled on the slate formations. This phenomenon is repeated so often that it

[1] F. J. Turner, Chicago *Record-Herald*, August 28, 1901.

[2] Cf. Volume I, Chapter XII.

might create the impression that the early settlers had some knowledge of geology. It is more reasonable to suppose, however, that they studied the surface of the land in regard to its vegetation and general appearance, the Irish taking land well-watered, near the big rivers, and the Germans, with a better eye for good land, choosing that on which there grew the best trees, such as oaks, a sure sign of good land. Another guiding principle in their choice was the selection of land the natural features of which resembled closely those of the country they had left. The Scotch-Irish would select well-watered meadow land, such as they had been brought up on in Ulster County in the north of Ireland; the Germans would prefer undulating country of rich forest growth, like that of the Rhenish Palatinate. This principle of selecting land similar to that which was found good at home prevailed even on a second and third choice. Remarkable instances have occurred in the case of families who have migrated farther and farther westward, generation after generation, of the choice of a farm or homestead almost identical in appearance with the one owned by them in the original locality. As for the Germans of the eighteenth century, it happened that the best land they found and that also which was most similar to the Palatinate, their native country, was included in the limestone areas.

In Wisconsin the German immigrants of the nineteenth century showed good judgment in their selection of the heavily wooded districts, those being sure indications to them of good soil. Preferring to get the best yield from a smaller acreage, they left to others the prairie land and the big-farm region, whenever a choice was possible. They proved the wisdom of working with a view to the future. They were enabled in time to encroach upon the posses-

sions of less skillful farmers, and pay good prices for desirable land. "In whole townships and, in some states, almost whole counties, their superior thrift and skill had enabled them to dispossess the native American farmers."[1] "Their [the Pennsylvania-German farmers'] limestone farms became the wheat granaries of the country. Their great, well-built barns, fine stock, and big Conestoga wagons were an object-lesson to the other sections."[2] The same may be said of the German farmers of Wisconsin and the Northwest at the present day. They have contributed a large share toward making this country a wheat granary of the world. An acute observer[3] of economic conditions in the West presents the following syllogism: A failure of the wheat crop means financial failure for the year in the United States. A great part of the success of the wheat crop depends upon the skill and industry of the German farmers of the Northwest. Therefore, a successful financial year depends very largely upon the skill and industry of the German farmer of the Northwest.

The historian Lamprecht, of the University of Leipzig, said that during his trip to the United States he had seen but two well-cultivated areas, Pennsylvania and Utah, the result of religious enthusiasm[4] on the one hand, of German nationality on the other. But when measured by European standards, he declares there is but one well-

[1] Turner, Chicago *Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

[2] Turner, *supra*, August 28, 1901.

[3] Dr. Walther Wever, at the time consul-general of the German Empire, located at Chicago.

[4] In Utah and the Mormon states the population is largely English. (See map, Volume I, p. 576.) We ought therefore not to be inclined to attribute the agricultural success to religious enthusiasm, but to English skill in farming. The statement would then be altered to read that the two best farming areas in the United States are Pennsylvania and Utah, the one due to German, the other to English skill in farming.

cultivated area, and that is Pennsylvania.[1] Still he was filled with admiration as he passed through Wisconsin, from Chicago to Milwaukee: "The black soil here gives evidence of uncommon fertility; forests of oak shoot upward, cleared of all brushwood by painstaking colonists — rich farms abound, and the prosaic frame cottages are replaced partly by stone houses; farmers are seen plowing behind three horses; mowing-machines and merry harvest wagons present a sumptuous picture. In the prettiest parts it seems as if we had come into a land such as the German farmer might dream of: an improved Germany, a region of which the poet had a foreboding when he said, 'And like a garden was the land to look upon.' Such is the land of the German farmer, the land of German industry."[2]

American specialties

In previous chapters the "Latin farmer," so-called because he had received a college (gymnasium) or university education, was spoken of as commonly unsuccessful in agricultural pursuits. The political refugees of the revolutionary period of 1848 far more frequently entered the professional careers and lived in the large cities. Many of them, however, were conspicuous as exceptions to the general rule. There were such "Latin farmers" as Friedrich Münch,[3] who cultivated the old Duden farm near the banks

[1] Karl Lamprecht, *Americana* (Freiburg i/B. 1906), p. 55. It is the opinion of Professor L. H. Bailey, director of the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, that Lancaster and Chester counties in Pennsylvania are models as farming areas, and probably the richest, proportionate to their size, in the United States. Lancaster is a German county; Chester has a mixed population of Germans, Swedes, English, Scotch-Irish, and Welsh.

[2] Lamprecht, *supra*, p. 24.

[3] Cf. Volume I, pp. 442 ff. Münch was a refugee of the period of 1830.

of the Missouri River, the Engelmann family at Belleville, Illinois, and the imposing figure of old Hecker, military leader of the German Revolution in Baden, veteran of the Civil War, and gentleman farmer. Some of these exceptional men became noted in the history of American farming for their cultivation of specialties. Such was Pfeffer, of Wisconsin, who is famous in the history of American horticulture for the growth of an apple, which he has called the "Pewaukee apple." Another Wisconsin forty-eighter, Lewis, became widely known as a pig-man, his breeds becoming famous throughout the country.[1] Within the past years a large number of German agriculturists have come to the United States for the purpose of studying American conditions. They generally found that in scientific agriculture they had little to learn from America, in spite of her enormous crops. Under far less favorable conditions the German farmer in his own country has been forced to call into requisition the maximum of skill, industry, and thorough study of conditions. Nevertheless the German agricultural investigator confessedly finds something to reward him for his travels in the United States. One American feature is fruit-growing on a large scale, i. e., by the acre, and another the use of agricultural machinery.[2] Both of these American features are due to special conditions which the farmer in this country had to contend with and meet, the first being a great demand for fruit by the American people, and the second a device absolutely necessary for saving labor on the farm. It will be found in the succeeding paragraphs that the German farmer has con-

[1] Both of the latter examples were furnished the writer by Professor Bailey, who likewise commented upon the fine type of manhood that these individuals represented.

[2] The writer is indebted for this information to Professor G. N. Lauman, of the New York State Agricultural College, Cornell University.

tributed a worthy share in the solution of both of these problems.[1]

One of the earliest to grow fruit by the acre was a German on Long Island, — Johann Schwerdkopf, native of Hessen, by trade a gun-maker. He came to America somewhere between 1740 and 1750, settling on Long Island. He was a versatile genius, and finding a demand among the people for medicines, he began with the manufacture of bitters. He then cultivated rose-bushes and made rose-water, but his medicines or bitters, extracted from plants he had gathered in the woods, found a more ready sale. The Revolutionary War destroyed Schwerdkopf's rose-gardens, but after 1783 he started up again undismayed. The jack of three trades, he finally found mastery in a fourth. With an eye toward business he noticed that the people of New York were fond of fruit and berries. He now began to turn his attention to the earliest fruit of spring, the strawberry. At first he rented and then bought large stretches of cheap land and planted acres upon acres with strawberries. The cultivation of this luscious early fruit had been neglected before Schwerdkopf took it up. He made the strawberry a favorite dish for the New Yorkers. Every year his plantation grew, and the owner soon had a monopoly of the strawberry sale in the markets of New York. His rapid success gave rise to the fiction that he had discovered a treasure buried underground during the Revolutionary War, and thereby laid the foundation of his wealth.[2]

Viniculture

From the earliest time the Germans made attempts to

[1] The subject of agricultural machinery will be discussed in the next chapter (III) under the general head of technical industries.

[2] See *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. iii, pp. 143–146. Schwerdkopf appears for

cultivate the grape in the United States. They tried it in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, California, and elsewhere. In South Carolina the first colonists, enthused over their discovery of the wild grape, allowed their expectations to rise high, but their hopes were not realized. We have seen [1] how the Swiss colony at Vevay, Indiana, early in the nineteenth century made a determined effort but failed. The output of twenty-four hundred gallons in 1810 increased to five thousand gallons in 1817, but the hope of successfully competing with foreign wines had to be abandoned. The European varieties of the grape would not prosper on American soil, nor were the native American species suitable for the table or for wine until subjected to a process of cultivation. The Frenchman, John Francis Dufour, his family and brothers, the brothers Siebenthal, Philip Bettens, and Jean D. Mererod, fought a good fight at Vevay in the interests of American grape-culture, proving through their misfortunes that the European grape will not prosper in Eastern North America. Only one of their varieties, known as the Cape grape, yielded good returns, but the location seemed unfavorable, their vines sickened, the fruit rotted, and a killing pest in 1832 or 1833 practically ruined the colony's vineyards. In an early account [2] of the few vineyards existing in the United States about 1825 are mentioned the successful attempts of the Rappists at Harmony, Indiana, and the work of the German Thomas Echelburger, who was instrumental in establishing twenty vineyards near York, Pennsylvania.

the last time in a document of the year 1794, where he is called an old man who lives at the corner of Fulton Street and Love Lane, Brooklyn. Papers bearing his signature spell his name also Swertcoop and Swertcope.

[1] Cf. Volume I, p. 455.

[2] That of Rafinesque, *American Manual of the Grape-Vine and the Art of Making Wine*, published in 1830.

In the evolution of the native varieties of the American grape, Germans have contributed a prominent share. The Catawba[1] was cut by Major John Adlum from a grape-vine of much renown owned by the German innkeeper, Mrs. Scholl, of Montgomery County, Maryland. "A German priest, who saw Mrs. Scholl's vines in full bearing and when ripe, pronounced them the true Tokay." John Adlum, "one of the most ingenuous benefactors of our agriculture," pruned the vine in February, 1819, "for the sake of the cuttings," and subsequently (1825) sent some to Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati, who trained them successfully, and proved the Catawba's wonderful commercial possibilities. Longworth, often called "the father of American grape-culture," employed German vine-dressers[2] and was often guided by German opinion, e. g., "We have been led to the abandonment of the Cape grape, from the opinion of our German vine-dressers and German wine-drinkers, who are opposed to sugar and brandy in the manufacture of wine."[3] It is probable also that Longworth received his inspiration for viniculture when in 1822 he acquired by purchase the beautiful home of Martin Baum, famous for its gardens and vineyards.[4]

Another American variety of great commercial prominence for its wine-producing qualities is the so-called "Norton's Virginia." It was practically discovered by the Germans of Missouri. Mr. George Husmann, writing in 1865, says of it: "It was about this time [1850] that the attention of some of our grape-growers was drawn toward a small, insignificant-looking grape, which had been ob-

[1] See L. H. Bailey, *The Evolution of Our Native Fruits*, pp. 53-54. (New York, Macmillan, 1898.)

[2] Cf. Bailey, *supra*, pp. 96-97: An account of Longworth's best vine-dresser, the German "Father Ammen."

[3] Cf. Bailey, p. 48.

[4] Cf. Volume I, p. 425.

tained by a Mr. Wiedersprecker from a Mr. Heinrichs, who had brought it from Cincinnati, and almost at the same time, by Dr. Kehr, who had brought it with him from Virginia. The vine seemed a rough customer, and its fruit very insignificant when compared with the large bunch and berry of the Catawba, but we soon observed that it kept its foliage bright and green, when that of the Catawba became sickly and dropped; and also that no rot or mildew damaged the fruit, when that of the Catawba was nearly destroyed by it. After a few years a few bottles of wine were made from it, and found to be very good. But at this time it almost received its death-blow by a very unfavorable letter from Mr. Longworth, who had been asked his opinion of it, and pronounced it worthless. Of course, with the majority, the fiat of Mr. Longworth, the father of American grape-culture, was conclusive evidence, and they abandoned it. Not all, however; a few persevered, among them Messrs. Jacob Rommel, Poeschel, Langendoerfer, Grein, and myself. After a few years more wine was made from it in larger quantities, found to be much better than the first imperfect samples; and now that despised and condemned grape is *the* great variety for red wine, equal, if not superior, to the best Burgundy and Port. I think that it is preëminently a Missouri grape. Here it seems to have found the soil in which it flourishes best. I have seen it in Ohio, but it does not look there as if it was the same grape." Another variety, called the "Cynthiana," supposed to have been picked up in the wilds of Arkansas, is almost indistinguishable from the "Norton," and Mr. Husmann wrote in 1865, "promises fair to become a dangerous rival to Norton's Virginia." The "Norton" was too well established, however, and the two varieties are the principal wine-grapes of Missouri and the middle South.[1]

[1] Cf. Bailey, *supra*, pp. 79–80.

Not a little of the prosperity that "robes the hillsides and valleys" of Gasconade County and beyond is due to the theory and practice of George Husmann, who believed firmly in the future of the American vine, fought its foes, disseminated necessary information about its culture, and conducted one of the oldest establishments in the United States for the manufacture of American wine from American grapes. George Husmann was born near Bremen in 1827, came to this country with his parents when eight years of age, and in 1849 was taken with the gold fever. Shortly after he was called back to Missouri by his favorite sister, who, on the death of her husband, wished her brother to take charge of the estate. The year 1851 found George back again in Gasconade County, and then his career in horticulture began. His work was interrupted only by the war, in which he served as lieutenant and quartermaster of the Fourth Missouri Regiment of Volunteers. After being mustered out in 1865, he conducted extensive nurseries and one of the largest fruit-farms in the state, known far and wide as a model farm, the products of which won the first awards at fairs and expositions. In 1866 appeared his first book, "Grapes and Wine," and in 1869 he began the publication of the "Grape Culturist," "which was the first American journal to devote itself exclusively to a single type of plant. Since Adlum, no writer of books has so clearly and forcibly emphasized the importance of the native grapes as Husmann." [1] He was chosen in 1866, with Carl Schurz, an elector from Missouri for the election of the President of the United States, and a member of the convention for

[1] The quotation is from Professor Bailey's *Evolution of Our Native Fruits*, p. 69. The biographical facts of the career of Husmann were furnished the writer by his son, George C. Husmann, of Washington, D. C.

revising the constitution of the state of Missouri. In 1870 he was appointed a member of the Board of Curators of the Missouri State University, and became a charter member of the Missouri Horticultural Society and the State Board of Agriculture. He established the Husmann Nurseries at Sedalia, Missouri, in 1872, and was one of the first, if not the first to ship cuttings of American resistant vines to France for reëstablishing her vineyards.[1] In 1878 he was appointed Professor of Pomology and Forestry of the State University of Missouri, and in the same year originated and organized (with Parker Earle) the Mississippi Horticultural Society.

Husmann resigned his professorship at Missouri University in 1881 to accept the management of the Talcoa Vineyards (Simonton Estate) in Napa County, California. His practical experience as a planter and his theoretical equipment as a professor now formed the foundation for his future practical, experimental, and scientific work on the Pacific Coast. In California the European vine had grown successfully, but now the phylloxera was making inroads, and as in Europe resistant American roots were imported from the Mississippi region. Husmann, representing American as opposed to European grape-culture for America, was the man of the hour who could advance viticulture in California. The danger was overcome and grape-growing in California received a more secure founda-

[1] In this connection mention must be made of the important work of the German-Missourian Jacob Rommel, "who gave his attention to the breeding of varieties, using a new stock — the riverbank grape (*Vitis vulpina*, or *V. riparia*) — as the parent of crosses." (Bailey, p. 69.) The cord-like roots of this stock resist the attacks of the insect phylloxera, and hence it has been used most widely to be sent to Europe as a resistant parent stock upon which European varieties are grafted. "This variety is now a cornerstone of the viticulture of the Old World." (Bailey, p. 92.)

tion. Husmann was appointed State Statistical Agent for California in 1885, selected the wines for the Paris Exposition (which were awarded some twenty medals), was a member of the Viticultural Congress at Washington, and a frequent contributor to horticultural journals. His book, "Grape Culture and Wine-Making," reached its fourth edition in 1896. He died in 1902 on his ranch in Chiles Valley, Napa County, survived by his widow and six children.

Of the latter, George C. Husmann has carried on the work of his father as an investigator and promoter of viticulture both in theory and practice. Trained in Missouri under his father's supervision, he accepted in 1882 a position as superintendent of the extensive Kohler and Frohling vineyards and wineries at Glen Ellen, Sonoma County, California; in the following year, however, joining his father in the management of the Talcoa vineyards, where extensive nurseries for resistant stock varieties were established, and vineyards replanted with the new vines. In 1887 George C. Husmann accepted the post of general foreman of Governor Leland Stanford's famous Vina vineyards and wineries at Vina, California. He remained there until 1890, when he took charge of the vineyards and wineries of Kohler and Frohling at Windsor and Glen Ellen, Sonoma County, California. After completing the vintage there of 1892, he managed and owned with his father the Oak Glen vineyards and wineries from 1892 to 1900, when he accepted the government appointment of Pomologist in Charge of Viticultural Investigations in the Bureau of Plant Industry at Washington, D. C. In this experimental and field work Mr. Husmann's influence on the development of viticulture in the United States is far-reaching beyond that of any other one man, and he worth-

ily carries on in the South and elsewhere the great work done by the elder Husmann in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys and on the Pacific slope.

One of the most prominent nursery firms of the country, who have contributed largely to the culture of the grape, is that of the Germans, Bush & Son, at Bushberg, south of St. Louis. Their catalogue is a semi-scientific publication, used as a text-book in American agricultural schools, and furnishes a complete history of the American grape, its origin and genealogy.[1]

An interesting occurrence in the history of American horticulture was an influence upon the grape-culture of Europe by the same firm of Bush & Son. It happened that the phylloxera, an insect of American origin which preys upon the roots of grape-vines, having found its way into European vineyards by exportation, threatened to destroy the grape industry of Europe. Bush & Son discovered that a certain American variety (the riverbank vine, *V. riparia* or *V. vulpina*) was immune from the attack of the insect. After proving that the American vine could be used as a stock on which to graft the European forms, they made arrangements to meet the demand from abroad and grew millions of the phylloxera-resistant stocks for shipment to Europe. Thus they became instrumental in placing the European grape industry on an entirely new basis.[2]

As already stated, one of the most successful wine-produc-

[1] Cf. Bush & Son, and Meissner, *Illustrated Descriptive Catalogue of American Grape-Vines; a Grape-Grower's Manual.* (3d edition, St. Louis, 1883, 4th edition, 1895.)

[2] "Already millions of American grape-vines are growing in France, hundreds of thousands in Spain, Italy, Hungary, etc." *Catalogue of Bush & Son, and Meissner,* quoted by L. H. Bailey, *The Evolution of Our Native Fruits,* p. 92.

ing centres east of California is the town of Hermann, Gasconade County, Missouri. The industry is entirely in the hands of Germans and was so from the beginning. The state of Missouri in 1904 shipped one twelfth of the wine placed on the market by all states. Of the surplus number of gallons produced by the state in that year, viz., 3,068,780, Gasconade County furnished 2,971,576 gallons, and almost all of this amount was produced at and immediately around the principal city, Hermann.[1]

The foreign-born viticulturists of California[2] were more fortunate in having their fondest hope realized, that of seeing the European varieties of the grape prosper on American soil. Thus one of the earliest pioneers, Julius Dresel, son of the Rhineland (he was born at Geisenheim on the Rhine, in 1816), after an eventful career, drank Rhine wine, the product of his own Rhenish vines, on his "Rhinefarm" in Sonoma County, California. Dresel was of the superior class of "Latin farmers," had been a student of law at the University of Heidelberg, but had become involved in the political disturbances of 1848, and had emigrated, settling first in Texas. He engaged in farming at Sisterdale, near the Guadalupe River, north of San Antonio, and was the first in that section of Texas to raise wheat, rye, and cotton without slave labor. Under great difficulties he imported Saxon rams and therewith improved the Mexican sheep. He was the first to plant a

[1] Cf. W. G. Bek, *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri*, p. 151, etc. See also Volume I, p. 444.

[2] The biographical notes in this and the succeeding paragraphs are based on correspondence with members of the respective families. These data were furnished, on the writer's suggestion, by the untiring efforts of Professor E. W. Hilgard, of the University of California, and Mr. Charles Bundschu of San Francisco, who have thus contributed valuable items to the history of viticulture in the United States. See also the acknowledgment in Volume I, p. 509, footnote.

vineyard with the Johannisberg Riesling, which at first did well, but in the third year was destroyed by the large Texas red ant, which invaded the vineyard in countless numbers and stripped the vines of every vestige of green leaf. In the year 1850 his brother Emil, an architect, on a visit at Sisterdale, built him a house. In the following spring, Emil with four friends made his way on horseback through the wilderness to California, and in partnership with Jacob Gundlach in 1858 laid out the Rhinefarm Vineyards, Sonoma County. Julius Dresel remained on his farm in Texas until 1862, when, his Lincoln sympathies being well known, he removed to San Antonio for greater security. Emil Dresel died in 1869 and bequeathed to his brother his interest in the Rhinefarm in Sonoma County, California. Julius Dresel thereupon sold his possessions in Texas and with his family removed to the Rhinefarm. There he found a considerable stock of wines on hand without sales, and his first efforts were therefore directed toward creating a market, which he accomplished by personal visits to the large Eastern cities. Then he devoted his energies to improving the quality of the wine of the Rhinefarm by importing fine varieties of grape-vines from Germany and France. In the year 1875 the old partnership between him and Jacob Gundlach was discontinued, Mr. Gundlach establishing the wine business of J. Gundlach & Co. (subsequently the Gundlach-Bundschu Wine Company) in San Francisco, and Mr. Dresel continuing his vineyards on the Rhinefarm. When the phylloxera made its appearance in California vineyards, Julius Dresel was the first to import resistant roots from the Mississippi; and to test them thoroughly he planted them with the louse. The entire vineyard had to be replanted with the American stock, upon which were grafted the finer varie-

ties. The first crop from vines grafted to resistant roots was pressed in the year 1878, and the same vines are bearing crops to-day, a period of thirty years. After the phylloxera was overcome Dresel continued to experiment with noted varieties of the European grape, in order to find the very best vines suited to his soil and climate.[1]

It is claimed for another German-Californian, John Rock, that he has been directly responsible for the introduction of a larger number of trees and plants into California than any other one man, not excepting Luther Burbank. For more than forty years he was untiring in his purpose to stimulate, broaden, and intensify economic and ornamental horticultural enterprise in his state. He labored not for recognition, but for the joy of successful accomplishment, for the love of the work itself, in his chosen field. John Rock was born in Oberhessen, of noble parents, in the year 1836. Coming to this country at the age of fifteen, he was employed in the seed business until the breaking-out of the Civil War. He joined the Fifth Regiment of New York Zouaves, conspicuous for their daring service and severe losses, and remained with the regiment four years, taking part in nine battles. After the war, in 1866, he migrated to California, at first being employed by James Lick. A few years later he founded the Rock Nurseries on the Milpitas Road, which in their time were recognized as of the first rank. In 1884 he established the California Nurseries, covering over twenty-five hun-

[1] In politics Julius Dresel continued a stanch Republican until he opposed the party's protectionist policy in the eighties. Although proud of his adopted country, he never lost his love for the Fatherland and desired to see it again. Leaving his business in the hands of his eldest son in 1891, he returned to the banks of the Rhine, settling down at Wiesbaden, in full vigor of mind and body. Contracting a cold while climbing a mountain, he died in the same year of his return to his beloved Rhine.

dred acres of land, at Niles, in Alameda County, which he managed until his death in 1904.

Another of the earliest vineyardists was Charles Krug, born at Trendelburg, Prussia, in 1825. He received a university education at Marburg, and came to Philadelphia in 1847 as a teacher in the Free-Thinkers' School of that city. When he heard of the popular uprising in South Germany, he returned in 1848 to fight for freedom in the Fatherland. After an imprisonment of nine months he came back to Philadelphia in 1851. In the following year he appeared in San Francisco and became editor of the "Staatszeitung," the first German paper on the Pacific Coast. In 1858 he purchased a tract of land in Sonoma and planted twenty acres to vines. In the same year he made twelve hundred gallons of wine for John Patchett of Napa, the first wine made in this valley. In 1860 he married and located in Napa Valley (St. Helena), increasing his holdings continuously, and planting the best European varieties of the grape. He took much pride in maintaining a model vineyard and winery, and was considered one of the foremost viticulturists north of the Bay of San Francisco.

Frederick Roeding, born in Hamburg in 1824, had first settled in South America, but induced by the gold fever came to California, a "forty-niner." After a short experience as a miner, he became a commission merchant and a banker. As a member and trustee for a German-American syndicate he purchased eighty thousand acres in Fresno County in 1869. A portion was given to the Southern Pacific Railroad, then building through the San Joaquin Valley, and the city of Fresno was laid out. In conjunction with capitalists he instituted in 1872 the Fresno Canal and Irrigation Company, from which dates

the development of Fresno County. In 1883 he started the Fancher Creek Nurseries, seven miles east of Fresno, which in 1894 were transferred to his son, George C. Roeding, who extended the business. The latter is the author of a book entitled "California Horticulture," also a monograph on the fig, and in the Burbank booklet are described several varieties of plants that he is propagating for Mr. Burbank. Mr. George C. Roeding is especially interested in the growth of the fig and has originated the so-called "Calimyrna" fig.

The founder of the Eggers Vineyard Company was born in Hanover, Germany, a "forty-eighter" when he left his native land, full of the spirit of liberty, but soon to be enthralled by the demon of gold-seeking, a feverish "forty-niner" when he arrived on American soil. Eggers laid the foundation of his fortune in a wholesale grocery establishment, Eggers & Co., which existed for about thirty years. In the mean time he invested in Fresno and Kern County lands, and after 1883 devoted his entire attention to his vineyards, and the distillery, which had a capacity of thirty-five thousand gallons of wine and brandy. In 1895 was incorported the Eggers Vineyard Company, which in 1907 was sold to the Great Western Vineyards Company.

William Palmtag, born in Baden in 1847, when seventeen years of age followed the lead of nine brothers who all went to California. His rise in fortune came with his establishing himself at Hollister in 1873, where he became a vineyardist, distiller (the capacity of his distillery is six hundred gallons daily), banker, and ranchman. In politics he has been given many positions of trust and responsibility.

Other prominent German names of early and successful

vineyardists in California are C. Kohler, J. Dresel, H. Wohler, J. Beringer, W. Scheffler, G. Grozinger, I. De Turk, F. Eisen, T. Reiser, W. Koenig, T. Harzung, J. Schramm, C. Stern, J. L. Rose,[1] B. Dreyfus, Henry Kohler, and others.

The Germans were instrumental in establishing orange culture in Southern California on a large scale. Anaheim was a settlement made by Germans southwest of Los Angeles. Nordhoff, the well-known writer of books on California, himself of German descent, called attention to the location of Anaheim, and recommended the culture of grapes and southern fruits. But the orange was the product for which Anaheim became famous. It attracted a large number of settlers from the East, who planted the orange. The population of Anaheim is by no means as much German now as it was at the beginning.

Science of agriculture

The Nestor of agricultural science in this country is Eugene Woldemar Hilgard, born in Zweibrücken, Rhenish Bavaria, in 1833. At an early age he was brought to this country by his father, Theodore Erasmus Hilgard, "jurist, publicist, and poet," who settled at Belleville, Illinois (the "Latin Settlement"), and cultivated the vine and fruit-tree.[2] Eugene W. Hilgard went back to Germany for his higher education, studying at the universities of Freiburg, Zurich, and at Heidelberg,where he took his doctor's degree in 1853. On his return he was appointed to responsible positions in the service of the state, and was called to

[1] He is the same, mentioned in Volume I, p. 509, as the owner of an orange plantation near the Mission San Gabriel, California.

[2] Another son of Theodore Hilgard, viz., Julius E. Hilgard (b. 1825), was eminent as a civil engineer; still another as a physician. See succeeding chapter, p. 83.

occupy professorships at leading universities of the country. He was state geologist of Mississippi 1855 to 1873; chemist in charge of the laboratory in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and lecturer in the National Medical College in Washington, 1867 to 1868; professor of chemistry in the University of Mississippi, 1866 to 1873; professor of geology and natural history, University of Michigan, 1873 to 1875; since then he has been professor of agricultural chemistry in the University of California, and director of the State Agricultural Experiment Station; in 1904 he resigned the directorship of the Experiment Station, and retired as Professor *Emeritus* of the University of California, devoting his leisure to completing his lifework, his book on "Soils" (600 pp.), published in 1906. This authoritative work sums up his special investigations of the soils of the Southwestern States and of the Pacific Slope, in their relation to geology, their chemical and physical composition, their native flora and agricultural qualities; it includes his studies of "alkali lands," and the influence of climate upon the formation of soils. Professor E. W. Hilgard conducted the agricultural division of the northern transcontinental survey, 1881 to 1883; he prepared for the United States Weather Bureau in 1892 a discussion of the "Relations of Climate to Soils," which was translated into several European languages, and gained for the author an award of very great distinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences (Munich, Bavaria), the "Liebig Medal for important advances in agricultural science" (1894).[1] In recognition of his distinguished serv-

[1] Professor Hilgard has also published numerous papers on chemical, geological, and agricultural subjects in government reports, and in scientific journals both at home and abroad. He published a *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi* (1860); *On the Geology of Louisiana and the Rock-Salt Deposits of Petite Anse Island, Louisiana* (1869); *Report on the*

ices in science, Professor Hilgard has repeatedly been honored in this country and abroad by the bestowal of the honorary doctor's degree, the highest award within the gift of a university. He received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Mississippi in 1882, from the University of Michigan in 1887, and from Columbia in 1887; on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his promotion to the doctor's degree (*Doktorjubiläum*), he received from his *alma mater*, the University of Heidelberg, the Ph.D. "*honoris causa iterum collatum*," a rare and worthy tribute. The influence of Professor Hilgard's work as an investigator, writer, and teacher has been profound; it has not been limited to the borders of our own country, but belongs to the universal realm of science and letters.

In the department of agricultural chemistry the Germans have been represented by Charles A. Goessmann, for a long time the leader of this branch in the United States. He was born at Naumburg, Germany, in 1827, took his doctor's degree at the University of Göttingen, in 1853, where he remained four years as assistant. He came to this country as chemist and manager of a Philadelphia sugar refinery in 1857, and remained in that position until 1861; was chemist of the Onondaga (N. Y.) Salt Company, 1862 to 1869; professor of chemistry at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, 1866 to 1868; director of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1882 to 1894, and analyst to the

Experimental Work of the College of Agriculture, University of California (1877–1898); *Report on the Arid Regions of the Pacific Coast* (1887); monographs on Mississippi, Louisiana, and California in the *Report on Cotton Production* of the United States Census Report of 1880, which he edited. Professor Hilgard was elected to membership in the National Academy of Sciences in 1872, and is a member of many scientific societies. He received the gold medal at the Paris Exposition as collaborator in agricultural science.

Massachusetts State Board of Health since 1886. He has been professor of chemistry in the Massachusetts Agricultural State College since 1869, has directed many a student into his special field of work, is the author of many scientific reports, monographs, and papers, and his expert advice has constituted a far-reaching influence in the agricultural history of New England.

Preceding paragraphs have illustrated two characteristics of the German farmer. When given a choice, he selects that country which is most like his own, and he raises products similar to those of his native country, but when placed in a land of strange climate and vegetation he readily adapts himself to the new situation. A good example of this adaptability is seen in the German rice-growers at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the Germans in Florida and around Mobile, Alabama, who raise southern products.[1] Moreover the German will farm on the prairie just like the native Americans. He will throw all his traditions to the wind, adopt modern agricultural machinery, raise big herds, and learn every device that makes for success in a farming country foreign to him. Another instance is that of the deliberate selection of prairie land, instead of the more general choice of wooded lands, by the German Swiss colonists in the Looking Glass Prairie of Illinois, east of St. Louis. They had learned the method of digging for artesian wells, and irrigating their land. The Mennonites, of German stock, coming from Russia, furnish another example: they rapidly acquired the trick of big farming in Kansas and Nebraska. Instances of big farmers are: J. P. Vollmar (born in Würtemberg), engaged in farming and milling, the owner of about one hundred and ninety farms in Idaho; A. L. Stuntz (born

[1] These facts were called to the writer's attention by Professor L. H. Bailey.

in Pennsylvania), farmer in Idaho, vice-president of the National Farmers' Alliance (1896); S. A. Knapp (born in New York), farmer and miller, president of the Rice Association of America, president of the Iowa State Agricultural College (1883); John Dern (born in Hesse-Darmstadt), big farmer in Nebraska, 1869 to 1881, subsequently grain and lumber merchant and mine-owner. Above all, the name of John A. Sutter,[1] pioneer settler in the Sacramento Valley, California, stands out prominently in the history of agricultural industry in the Far West. Around Sutter's Fort were cultivated crops which had been entirely ignored before except by the missions. The current impression among the settlers was that such crops could not be grown in California without irrigation. Sutter removed the prejudice, and to the present day crop-culture without irrigation continues in the Sacramento Valley to a very wide extent.[2]

The German farmer was seen above to possess the qualifications of skill, thrift and industry, initiative and adaptability, which have made him uniformly the most successful farmer in the United States. This reputation, acquired in the eighteenth century, he has continued to carry throughout the nineteenth and to the present day. It is but natural to suppose, and investigation will prove, that in the pursuits allied to farming,— forestry, gardening, and the production and manufacture of food products of all kinds,— the German has also assumed a prominent part.

Forestry

The German farmer has always shown more regard for the trees than the Anglo-Saxon. It is recorded of the

[1] An account of his career was given in Volume I, p. 508.

[2] Statement of Professor E. W. Hilgard, director of College of Agriculture, University of California.

Pennsylvania-Germans that they were economical in the use of wood, even where it was abundant. They did not wantonly cut down forests or burn them, and when using wood as fuel, they built stoves, in which there was less waste than in the open fireplaces. The German of the nineteenth century likewise proved himself a friend of the trees. Through his early training at home, he understood the usefulness of forests as a protection against storms, as a wholesome influence on irrigation, and he cherished them also for sentimental reasons. It should not surprise us therefore to find that the first man in a position of influence who tried to check the indiscriminate destruction of forests in this country was a German. His name, glorified on many a page of American history, was Carl Schurz,[1] who as Secretary of the Interior from 1877 to 1881 attempted, though the task was hopeless at the time, to inaugurate legislation for the protection of American forests. It is but appropriate also that the first school of forestry founded in the United States, viz., the State College of Forestry, Cornell University, had for its first director a German. Professor Bernhard Edward Fernow, born in Prussia, in 1851, chief of the Division of Forestry, United States Department of Agriculture, was the head of this forestry school from its beginning in 1898 to its close in 1903.[2]

The fathers of modern forestry were George Ludwig Hartig (1764–1837) and Heinrich Cotta (1763–1844). Both of these men, through their teaching and publications, established an international reputation. The first French forestry school, founded at Nancy in 1827, had for its first directors Lorentz and Parade, both of whom,

[1] See Chapter IV, "Political Influence of the German Element."

[2] See Chapter V, "German Influence on Education."

Frenchmen, had received their training in Germany from German foresters. In Russia the forestry schools were also established under German influence. The largest forestry department in the world, located in India, was organized by Sir Dietrich Brandis, a native of Hesse-Cassel. He took with him as assistants two other Germans from Hesse-Cassel, Wilhelm Schlich and Ribbentrop. They became the successors of Brandis, who had organized the department in 1856. Dr. Wilhelm Schlich became professor of forestry at Oxford, England, and head of the forestry movement in Great Britain.[1]

In this country, Carl Schurz, as Secretary of the Interior, first laid stress on a conservative management of the valuable timber lands of the country, protecting them against fire, waste, theft, or disadvantageous sale. He was often thwarted in the execution of what appeared to him absolutely necessary, but his reports embodied the first great plans for future accomplishment. The Yorktown celebration, in 1882, contributed indirectly toward arousing public interest in forestry. Several descendants of the family of Baron Steuben appeared at the celebration, and one of the seven brothers present was by profession a Prussian Oberförster. Subsequently, while traveling through this country, he came to Cincinnati, and there his personality and profession attracted a great deal of attention. Newspapers took the matter up and cultivated popular interest in the profession.[2]

As a result of these happenings, the people of Cincinnati interested in forestry called together the American

[1] For the historical facts of this paragraph the writer is indebted to Professor B. E. Fernow, director of the School of Forestry, Toronto University, Ontario. Cf. his *Short History of Forestry in Germany and Other Countries.* (1907.)

[2] The authority for the statement concerning this indirect influence of Oberförster Steuben is Professor Fernow.

Forestry Congress, which held its first session in Cincinnati in April, 1882. The occasion became a popular festival, during which six thousand school-children celebrated the first school arbor day, planting trees in Eden Park.

In 1884 this American Forestry Congress became the American Forestry Association, the moving spirit of which was its secretary, Bernhard Edward Fernow. The Association attempted to arouse the apathetic public mind to the necessity of taking care of the vast resources contained in the forests of the United States. In 1886 the secretary[1] of the association was appointed chief of the Division of Forestry in the United States Department of Agriculture. This position he[2] held for twelve years, until called to Cornell as the director and dean of the New York State College of Forestry, in 1898.

The influence of the New York State School of Forestry upon the establishment of similar institutions in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Ontario will be considered in a later chapter.[3] The first scientific forestry journal, "The Forestry Quarterly," is also a conception of Professor B. E. Fernow, who issued the first number in 1902, and has continued its publication without interruption to the present time.

It is interesting in this connection to note the fact that the largest owner of timber lands and mills in the United States is the German, Frederick Weyerhaeuser,[4] commonly

[1] Later Professor Fernow was chairman of the executive committee, now vice-president of the American Forestry Association.

[2] Professor Fernow is the author of a large number of scientific articles, books, and reports such as the *Annual Reports and Bulletins*, Division of Forestry, 1886–1898 ; *Economics of Forestry ; The White Pine* (1899), etc.

[3] Chapter v, "German Influence on Education in the United States," pp. 226–228.

[4] He was born at Niedersaulheim, in 1834, within the old borders of the Palatinate, which furnished so many immigrants in the eighteenth century.

known as the lumber king. He started as a teamster in a lumber camp, and is now the head of the so-called Weyerhaeuser Syndicate, controlling the lumber interests of the Mississippi River and the great Northwest. He owes his fabulous wealth largely to the German trait of economy and to his German appreciation of the forests. The lavish waste of timber by the native population he considered a poor business principle, and he accordingly set his indomitable will to work out the problem of reaping commercial advantages from the unsurpassed forest wealth of the United States.

A long stride forward in the interests of forestry was made by President Roosevelt during the last months of his second term, when he called together a commission of leading men to consider means for the preservation of the natural resources of our country. Thereby he impressed the principle of economy as worthy to be set beside the ideals of justice and good government.

Nurseries

In the nursery business of this country, there are many Germans. The most famous nursery[1] in the United States, that which commands the best prices and meets the most critical demands, is that of Ellwanger & Barry, located at Rochester, New York. The founder, George Ellwanger, born in Würtemberg, Germany, came to Rochester in 1839. He was the producer and scientist of the firm, while Patrick Barry, born in Ireland, did the selling for the house. From the pioneer days to the present

A sensational article has recently appeared in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, by C. P. Norcross, — *Weyerhaeuser, Richer than John D. Rockefeller*, January number, 1907.

[1] This statement is made on the authority of Professors Bailey and Craig, of the State College of Agriculture, Cornell University.

time, this firm has kept pace with the wonderful progress in fruit and ornamental tree culture, much of which has been the direct result of the firm's efforts. Among the many new varieties which Mr. Ellwanger introduced were dwarf apple and pear trees and the popular apple, the Northern Spy. He also revolutionized methods of pruning fruit trees by applying scientific processes.[1] His son, H. B. Ellwanger, was the author of several noted books on horticultural subjects, such as "The Rose," "The Garden Story," and others.[2] The prominent Missouri nursery firm of Bush & Son, and the California horticulturists, John Rock, George Roeding, and others, have been mentioned above.

Another type of nursery-men are the importers of horticultural supplies, located in New York City. At the head of these are the two German firms, August Roelker & Sons and August Rhotert & Son, both of New York City. They import European products of the highest class and thereby exert a strong influence on American horticulture. The German seed-men should be mentioned in this connection, among whom are: Stump & Walter of

[1] Mr. George Ellwanger contributed largely to the commercial prosperity of Rochester, not alone through the Mount Hope Nurseries (comprising now over five hundred acres). He was a director of several banks, trustee of the Rochester Trust and Safe Deposit Company, one of the early financial backers of the Eastman Kodak Company, a director of the gas company and street-railways, vice-president of the Reynolds Library, besides being prominent in a number of scientific societies. His firm presented Highland Park to the city of Rochester. Another of his donations was a German home for the aged (1900). When he died, November 26, 1906, acknowledgment was made that he had contributed probably more than any one man to Rochester's development. Cf. *The Weekly Florist's Review* (Chicago and New York), December 6, 1906, p. 157; *The Florist's Exchange* (Chicago and New York), December 1, 1906, p. 661.

[2] Another son, William D. Ellwanger, is active in the nursery firm.

New York; J. M. Thorburn & Co., New York (in which Bruggerhof holds a controlling interest); Weeber and Don, New York; James Vick's Sons, Rochester; but above all the long established house of H. A. Dreer in Philadelphia.

Gardening

As vegetable gardeners the Germans have been prominent throughout the history of the United States. Dr. Rush, in his account of the Pennsylvania-German farmers, praises the hygienic influence of the German truck-farms, upon the city population. The eating of fresh vegetables this noted physician declared to be a preventive against skin diseases, such as scurvy, and he gave the Germans all the credit for the founding of this branch of horticulture. At the present day almost all large cities[1] of the country in the German Belt — that is, between Northern New York and Mason and Dixon's Line, and running westward — are supplied with fresh vegetables by German truck-farmers. Even outside of this belt, in cities such as Baltimore or New Orleans, Germans are most numerous among those who bring into the city fresh market supplies. In the great truck-farming district around Norfolk, Virginia, extending southward to Florida, the district that supplies vegetable products in the early spring, before they can be furnished in the more northerly areas, German colonies exist, but other national types, notably the English, are more numerous.

In the flower culture of our country, the Germans also

[1] e. g., *Der deutsche Pionier* (vol. vi, pp. 419–426) reports that for Cincinnati, Nikolaus Höffer was the first to supply the markets with the delicacies of the season; that he was famous for his cucumbers and melons, asparagus and cauliflower, and above all for his cabbages. He was the first who in Cincinnati prepared *sauerkraut* in the German fashion.

have very many representatives, as a review of the pages of the "Florists' Directory" will prove. Questioning men whose opinion on this matter is of value, the writer found that the two national types most in demand when reliable labor, skilled in gardening, is desired, are the Germans and the Scotch. They bring with them good training, and do by far the most satisfactory work in our parks, squares, and decorative gardens. Owners of estates are eager to get laborers of German or Scotch origin to work for them.[1]

Even in the more creative type, landscape gardening, the Germans have supplied able men in the United States. The execution of the plans of Frederick Law Olmsted[2] designer of Central Park, New York City, seems to have been put largely into the hands of Germans. A. Pieper, a Hanoverian, was assistant to the chief engineer in the work; A. Torges, of Brunswick, as principal surveyor, had charge of the southern division; the Hanoverian Wonneberg took charge of the northern division. B. Pilat, an Austrian, was head gardener, with the Würtemberger, Fischer, as his assistant. W. Müller, a Hessian, was employed as head architect; Beringer, a Bavarian, had charge of the drainage and irrigation. H. Krause, a Saxon, and Spangenberg, a Hessian, were the head draughtsmen. In a number of other parks of the United States Germans have done excellent work, e. g., Gottlieb M. Kern, in St. Louis; Seibold,

[1] Given on the authority of Professor John Craig, professor of horticulture, Cornell University.

[2] A commission was formed in 1856, under an act of the New York Legislature, for the construction of a large central park in New York City, and Mr. Olmsted was appointed superintendent. In 1857 premiums were offered by the commission for the best plans for the ground; of thirty-four plans, the highest prize was awarded to the one prepared by F. L. Olmsted in conjunction with Calvert Vaux. Olmsted was a native American, probably of Scandinavian descent.

of Dresden, in Texas; Notmann, in Philadelphia; Faul, in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore.[1]

The most prominent landscape gardener of German origin was Adolph Strauch, who was born in 1822, in the Prussian province of Silesia. He had been well trained in schools abroad and on visits to the best gardens of Europe. Coming to the United States as a sight-seer, he was detained by friends in Cincinnati, and there constructed "Mount Storm," in the suburb of Clifton, for Mr. Bowler, whom he had previously met in London. This was followed by garden plans for a large number of villas at Clifton. His great work was soon to follow. It came in connection with his appointment as superintendent of the Spring Grove Cemetery. Influenced by the reading of Humbolt's "Cosmos," wherein a description of the Chinese grave-gardens at Mukden, the residence of the Mandschus, fascinated him, he planned to adopt the central idea. He determined to make of the cemetery a garden. In execution of this plan, all iron fences and offensive monuments, however costly, were removed, and plans were adopted which would bring each individual cemetery lot into harmony with the whole. Strauch's severe censorship, which excluded many costly monuments lacking in taste, created much opposition, but with the support of his friend Robert Buchanan, president of the Cemetery Company, he made a stubborn and successful fight. Another feature of Strauch's superintendentship was its financial success. A low-lying area, for instance, which was formerly rented out at a small price for grazing dairy cows, he turned into a most beautiful part of the cemetery, surpassing

[1] For the above statistics, see *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. iv, p. 202; see also vol. x, pp. 82–93. The first monument erected in Central Park was a bronze bust of the poet Schiller, in 1862. The expenses were paid by Germans in New York.

others which he could not completely force into the new plans. Strauch's great advance in cemetery construction was his grass-park idea, in which large stretches of lawn, unimpaired by railings and palings and rude marble blocks, were dotted with trees and groups of bushes, relieved by some few tasteful monuments. The new cemetery was a park as well as a burying-ground. The great artistic and financial success of the venture inspired other cities to imitate the model furnished by the Spring Grove Cemetery. Indianapolis (Crown Hill Cemetery), Nashville, Hartford, Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, and New York (Woodlawn Cemetery) openly or secretly followed the example given by Cincinnati.[1]

Food products

The Germans have always been good eaters; the national disease of dyspepsia was never feared among the agricultural Germans. They ate healthful food and partook of it in good quantity. In that respect also they furnished an object-lesson. Even to this day the tourist passing through rural districts will rejoice on getting into a country where there is a large German population, for he will find good and abundant food at very moderate prices. It is not surprising therefore to find that the German population of this country and their descendants have been very influential in the development of manufactures concerned with food products.

The Pennsylvania-Germans were early noted for their fruit-preserving. Their apple-butter still sustains its ancient reputation, and in the early days its preparation was made the occasion of social frolics. Numerous were the varieties of fruit preserves, and the art is not lost but

[1] *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. x, pp. 91 ff.

probably improved at the present day. Throughout the United States, the pickling and preserving business is largely in the hands of Germans. In Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, the two great rival pickling firms, the H. J. Heinz Company and the Lutz & Schramm Company, are both German, and together they have made Allegheny a centre of the pickling industry.[1] The advertisements of the "57 varieties" have made the firm of Heinz & Company familiar all over the land. The founder, Henry J. Heinz, was born in Pittsburg, of German parentage. He began a small business of packing food products at Sharpsburg, Pennsylvania, and removed to Pittsburg in 1872, where the business was conducted under the name of Heinz, Noble & Co. Subsequently the name was F. & J. Heinz, and in 1888, the H. J. Heinz Company. Besides the main plant at Pittsburg, the company has eleven branch factories, including one in Spain; sixty-seven salting-stations; twenty-six branch houses, including one in London; and agencies in all parts of the world. Other houses of note as pickling establishments are the J. O. Schimmel Preserving Company of Jersey City, and the Bosman and Lohman Company of Norfolk, Virginia (manufacturers of peanut butter, etc.).

In Maryland, the canning state of the Union, the industry is in the hands of small dealers or of the farmers, who do their own canning in harvest-time on their own fields and sell canned products to brokers. In the city of Baltimore, one of the oldest canning firms is that of William Numsen, the founder of which was a Pennsylvania-German.

The pioneer manufacturer of oatmeal was Ferdinand Schumacher, born in Hanover, Germany, in 1822.

[1] The only firm to rival these at all in America is the Curtis Preserving Company of Rochester.

He came to the United States in 1850, and after farming a year near Cleveland, established himself as a grocer at Akron, Ohio. In 1856, he became the original manufacturer of oatmeal in the United States. One of the popular breakfast foods of his establishment is "Rolled Oats." He consolidated large oatmeal interests in the American Cereal Company, of which he was president until 1899.

Prominent as a merchant and inventor was William Ziegler, born in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, in 1843, and of German descent. In 1868 he engaged in the business of bakers' and confectioners' supplies. Two years later he organized the Royal Chemical Company, which he developed into the Royal Baking Powder Company, Chicago, 1890. Nearly every family in the land has used supplies manufactured by this firm.[1]

Hecker's self-raising flour is another familiar asset in the American household. This originated with the German firm of the Hecker Brothers, who were in the flour business in New York City from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The most successful of the family, John Valentine Hecker, born in New York City in 1848, entered the office of Hecker Brothers after graduation in Columbia College in 1869. He became the head of the firm in 1874, was associated with his uncle in the milling business in 1884 and 1889, and subsequently effected an organization of the flour-mills of New York, called the

[1] William Ziegler has operated in Brooklyn in suburban real estate, and led the fight against the purchase by the city of Brooklyn of the Long Island Water Supply Company, saving the city $1,500,000. (*Who's Who in America.*) Ziegler is best known perhaps as the capitalist who furnished the means for the exploration of the Arctic regions by way of Franz Joseph's Land. Through Ziegler's means, though after his death, Lieutenant Peary was enabled to reach a point nearer the North Pole than any man had up to that time (1906) been able to go.

Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company, of which he became president.

In the manufacture of sugar in the United States, the greatest name is that of Claus Spreckels, who was born in Lamstedt, Hanover, in 1828. He came to the United States at the age of nineteen, arriving at Charleston with three dollars in his pocket. He found employment in a grocery store for his board, but when his employer, eighteen months later, was about to retire from business, young Spreckels bought him out on credit and paid his debt within one year. Scarcely had he been successful in South Carolina, when he saw an opportunity of buying a grocery store in New York City, and made a greater success of that. Golden opportunities lured him to California in 1856, whither he went with his family and four thousand dollars which he had saved. His first investment was in a brewery, which yielded him good profits, and gave him a chance to introduce improved methods in the brewing of beer. His next venture was in sugar, for he saw great opportunities in the location of San Francisco, which was on the line of imports from the Hawaiian Islands, where the sugar-cane prospered. Seeking to master the details of sugar-refining, he went to New York and became a workman in the refineries located there. Returning to California, he organized the Bay Sugar Refinery Company, which marked the beginning of his great fortune. The company prospered, but he left it to go to Europe with his family, there to make an exhaustive study of sugar manufacture. He worked again in a factory, at Magdeburg, learning particularly the art of making beet-sugar. He continued this method of close study throughout his life, and became the undisputed master of the sugar business in America. In 1867 he had

returned to California, and with his brother operated the California Sugar Refinery, the machinery for which he had had built in New York under his personal direction. He invented new processes which reduced the time of making hard sugar from three weeks to twenty-four hours, and introduced for the first time into the American market the cube and crushed sugars of to-day.

Not only did he excel in more scientific manufacturing principles, but he overcame his rivals by aggressive business methods. At one time he surprised his competitors by buying up all the sugar afloat from the Hawaiian Islands, and thus practically shutting the doors of his rivals by cutting off their raw materials. Extending his operations he leased twenty thousand acres of cane-land from the King of the Hawaiian Islands, a plantation subsequently increased to one hundred thousand acres. King Kalakaua cleverly saw the advantage to his people in the development of the sugar-cane industry, became the friend of Spreckels, and conferred upon him knighthood in the Order of Kalakaua, a distinction which the sugar-king valued. The admission of Hawaiian sugar free of duty gave Spreckels a great advantage, and by 1888 he was the unquestioned sugar-king of the Pacific Coast. To fix himself finally in the control of the West, he organized the beet-sugar industry, and from the erection of his first big factory in California dates the beginning of the successful manufacture of beet-sugar on a large scale in the United States. Having defeated all rivals in the West, he had a greater foe to contend with in the East, the powerful Sugar Trust. The latter's profits were so great in the East that they could afford to sell sugar at a loss in California in order to damage Spreckels. Against the advice of his friends, he thereupon decided to carry the war into the

enemy's country. He built a large refinery in Philadelphia, valued at five million dollars, and then fixed the prices in the Eastern markets of the Trust. The Philadelphia establishment became such a thorn in the flesh for the Trust, that the latter made overtures of peace, purchased the Philadelphia plant, and agreed to leave the California refinery in uninterrupted operation.

Besides his activity in the sugar industry, Claus Spreckels was the promoter of many large enterprises for the public welfare. He was one of the principal organizers and supporters of the San Joaquin Valley Railroad, built in response to a general public demand. He was the organizer of the Independent Electric Light and Power Company and the Independent Gas Company, which gave San Francisco a model system of lighting within the means of the poor as well as the rich. In conjunction with two of his sons, he established the well-known Oceanic Steamship Company, the pioneer in a regular service to Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand. His eldest son, John D. Spreckels, has for years had a deciding influence upon Oriental trade, and Adolph, president of the First National Bank, has been a financial supporter of the graft prosecutions in San Francisco, in addition to being the active leader in the reform movement. Claus Spreckels has been a liberal subscriber to benevolent enterprises, the crowning gift being the music-stand erected by him in the Golden Gate Park, at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars, to cultivate a popular demand for open-air concerts in a climate suited to out-of-door life.

The sugar-kings of the East, established long before the Spreckels in the West, are the Havemeyers. The ancestors of the family were William and Frederick Christian Havemeyer, who emigrated from Bückeburg

(Schaumburg-Lippe), Germany. They had learned the trade of sugar-refining at home, and very soon after their arrival established themselves as sugar-refiners in New York City. William Havemeyer came in 1799, his brother Frederick Christian in 1802. Their sons continued in the business under the firm name of W. F. & F. C. Havemeyer (1828). A grandson of the first Havemeyer became distinguished also in public life, viz., William F. Havemeyer, who was thrice elected mayor of New York. Henry Osborne Havemeyer was, until his death in 1909, president of the American Sugar Refining Company (capital, $75,000,000), which unites the largest sugar interests in the United States.

The German firm of Piehl is at the head of the manufacture of starch in the United States. The name Kohlsaat in Chicago is prominent in the wholesale bakery business. Charles F. Gunther, born in Würtemberg (1837), is one of the largest manufacturers of confectionery in this country, and has been influential also in the politics of Chicago. The popular Hershey's chocolate is manufactured by Milton S. Hershey, of Mennonite ancestry.

In the production of salt for table purposes, German experts were frequently called from abroad to improve the methods of the salt manufacture of Central New York.[1] Thus Charles A. Goessmann (see pp. 54–55) was chemist to the Onondaga Salt Company for seven years, 1862–1869. Before the advent of the German experts, the salt of Central New York could not be used for the table; refining processes were instituted by the Germans, as a result of which numerous and large salt manufacturing establishments are flourishing in Central New York.

[1] This statement is made on the testimony of Andrew D. White, a contemporary of the event and resident of those parts.

The pioneer salt manufacturers of West Virginia were the Ruffner brothers, who were enjoined by their German father, Joseph Ruffner, to carry out his plans for building extensive saltworks. The latter had bought nine hundred acres from a point on the Elk River to the Kanawha, embracing the present site of Charleston. After a long struggle, David and Tobias Ruffner bored the first salt-well, in 1808, and erected a large furnace for the manufacture of salt in the Kanawha region. David Ruffner was also the pioneer in the use of coal for fuel, as he had been in boring the well.[1]

When considering German activity in the production of food products in the United States, the small producer should not be forgotten. The Germans have furnished the butchers and bakers in almost every large city of the United States, and that not alone within the German Belt. We need not single out large cities, for the same phenomenon can be observed in innumerable smaller towns. Germans have been uniformly successful as small traders, whether butchers, bakers, grocers,[2] or truck-farmers. In some places where the German element is large, such as Milwaukee or New York, the art of sausage-making has advanced to a degree comparable to that of Germany, both as to variety and quality. The demand for the product arises not only from the German, but

[1] The fascinating story of the Ruffners, as told originally by J. P. Hale, author of *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, is embodied in the article by E. W. Parker on salt manufacture in the United States, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, 1900, vol. ix, *Manufactures*, part iii, pp. 539–540. The Ruffners were Virginia-Germans, a numerous and distinguished family. Ruffner's Cave, Virginia, was named after one of them. Reverend Dr. Henry Ruffner is called the father of Presbyterianism in the Kanawha Valley by J. P. Hale.

[2] As retail and wholesale grocers the Germans have been very successful. Many of the captains of industry, such as Martin Baum, Claus Spreckels, Ferdinand Schumacher, started their career as successful grocers.

also from the native population. The sausage-stalls at the open markets of large cities are as crowded as bargain-counters. But not alone those much-abused dishes, *frankfurters* and *sauerkraut*, have made their way into the menus of American homes and hotels, since also the rarer, spicy articles of the "Delikatessenhandlungen" have found ready entrance.

The Germans are very prominent as stock-owners in the West. The king of cattle-men in the United States is Henry Miller, born in Würtemberg (1828); his partner, Charles Lux (deceased), was born in Baden. They arrived in California in the early fifties, both hard-working and ambitious young men. They bought cattle for slaughter, and in a comparatively short time controlled the fresh-meat supply of San Francisco. They purchased ranches and lands with a particular purpose, so that they might drive their cattle or sheep from neighboring states to the central distribution point, keeping them on their own land, or at least harboring them at their own ranch stations overnight or for convenient periods. They could thus keep up a perpetual supply for the market. Many of the old Spanish grants, comprising thousands of acres, gradually fell into their hands, until they became the largest land-owners in California, with possessions equal in extent to a small principality, comprising eight hundred thousand acres in California, besides other lands in Oregon and Nevada. At one time they owned eighty thousand head of cattle and one hundred thousand sheep. After the death of Mr. Lux, in 1887, Mr. Miller became the head of the syndicate formed, and continues to manage these vast interests, undaunted by advancing age. The stories told of immense purchases of cattle, of cleverness in his dealings, and sudden justice falling upon

negligent overseers, of unyielding determination in the pursuit of an aim, furnish interesting reading,[1] and invest the life of Miller with a halo of romance. Other stockmen of German name are James C. Dahlman, born in Texas, resident in Omaha, Nebraska, and S. A. Knapp, born in New York, first president of the Iowa Stock Breeders' Association.

No one disputes the fact that the brewing industry is in the hands of Germans. We rarely reflect, however, upon the economic importance of these industries, for they have developed to gigantic proportions, far beyond what exists in Europe. The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, of St. Louis, employs six thousand men and produces 1,800,000 barrels of beer annually. The breweries of Milwaukee, of which the largest are those of Pabst, Schlitz, and Blatz, produce over three and one half million barrels annually at a value of $25,000,000.[2] The breweries of Rochester, Chicago, New York, Buffalo, and many other cities are likewise a source of wealth to the localities where they are established. The quality of the beer produced by the best breweries of the country is improving, and may some day equal the best produced in the Fatherland. In fact, some connoisseurs declare that there is but one German beer, the Bavarian (others will name the Bohemian, called Pilsener), that surpasses the best produced in America.

Observing the activity of Germans in the manufacture of food products, it is not surprising to find them prominent as hotel-keepers. The traveler notices how frequently

[1] Cf. *The World's Work*, 1908, pp. 10680 ff. Lux left no descendants. Miller's only grandson, Henry Miller Nickel, a young man of twenty-two years, was frozen to death in February, 1909, losing his trail while riding on horseback over one of their large ranches in Southern Oregon.

[2] Cf. Baedeker, *The United States*, 1909.

Germans keep hotels in the non-German countries of Europe. Their tendency to drift into the hotel business is noticeable in the United States from Hoboken to San Francisco. It is historical, and many instances might be cited, such as that of General Weedon, distinguished in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and the siege of Yorktown, who kept an hotel before the Revolutionary War, in which he assiduously sowed the seeds of sedition.[1] At the present day, the king of hotel-keepers in the United States is George C. Boldt, born in Germany. He is president of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Company of New York, and the proprietor also of the finest hostelry of Philadelphia, the Bellevue-Stafford. It is generally conceded by critical travelers that Mr. Boldt's Waldorf-Astoria excels all others of the magnificent hostelries of New York in one particular. It is home-like, a quality no doubt impressed upon it by the genius of the founder. Mr. Boldt has recently instituted a feature unique in the history of hotels, viz., a training-school for his employees, wherein they may, during hours when they are not on duty, receive instruction in the various arts that pertain to the needs and comforts of guests, such as reception on entering the hotel, attendance in the room, waiting at the table, hair-dressing, manicuring, and the like. An ambitious employee may thereby advance the more rapidly and prove the more useful to employer and guests alike. Some of the oldest and best reputed hotels of the country were founded by Germans, as the Rennert, in Baltimore; the Welcker, in Washington; the Pfister, in Milwaukee; the Heublein of Hartford (Connecticut); the Sinton (managing director Edward N. Roth) of Cincinnati; the

[1] According to the testimony of Smyth (*Smyth's Tour*, vol. ii, p. 274). Cf. Volume I, Chapter XI, p. 293.

Palatine (H. N. Bain & Co.) of Newburgh, New York; the Hollenbeck and the Lankershim of Los Angeles; the Orndorff of El Paso, Texas, and numerous others.[1] The most famous hotel in the South, the Ponce de Leon,[2] in St. Augustine, Florida, built at a cost of $3,000,000, is owned by Henry M. Flagler, of Dutch descent. The latter also owns the Alcazar, St. Augustine.

Summarizing briefly the contents of the present chapter, it was found that certain qualifications of the German farmer gave him for two centuries the well-earned reputation of being the most successful farmer in the United States. His choice of land and his adaptability to new conditions received comment. In producing specialties in American horticulture, the German contributed his share. Forestry, viticulture, and gardening are German occupations. Germans are prominent in the preserving and pickling industry, in the manufacture of cereals, of sugar and salt, in the brewing industry, as hotel-keepers, and as small producers, such as butchers and bakers, grocers and truck-farmers. The examples chosen were merely illustrative, and did not pretend to exhaust each particular subject.

[1] Some possess the cosy quality of a German hotel, such as the Kaltenbach at Niagara Falls, and the Heublein of Hartford, Connecticut.

[2] It is an interesting fact that the electrical equipment of the Ponce de Leon was installed by a German, W. J. Hammer. See next chapter.

CHAPTER III

GERMAN INFLUENCE ON THE MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

II. IN TECHNICAL BRANCHES; IN OTHER MANUFACTURES

Technical schools of Germany the cause of the prominence of Germans in all technical branches in the United States — Bridge-building: Röbling, Schneider, and others — Civil and electrical engineers: Fink, Haupt, Steinmetz, Hammer, and many others — Mining engineers: Sutro, Eilers, etc. — Chemical industries, chemical and pharmaceutical preparations, patent medicines, importers — Manufacturers of scientific apparatus; inventors of machines, agricultural, etc. — Manufacture of glass, iron, and steel: Amelung, Stiegel, Fritz, Anschütz, Frick, Schwab — Hygienic clothing; felt; leather; cabinet- and wagon-makers — Navigation and shipping — Industries concerned with the arts; lithography: Prang, Bien, Hoen — Manufacture of musical instruments; violins and guitars: Martin, Gemünder; pianos: Steinway, Knabe, Weber, etc. — Various other manufactures — Captains of industry.

Another group of industrial activities, in which the Germans in the United States have been participants to an extraordinary degree, are those in which technical knowledge and training are required. Such are bridge-building, practical applications of electricity, all engineering work, the chemical industries, the manufacture of musical and scientific instruments, in some of which the Germans have reigned supreme. In the construction work of our country, involving problems of magnitude never before presented to the engineering profession, the German element may be said to have held a monopoly. The cause is not difficult to see. The technical schools of Germany were very efficient and sent out well-trained men long before any similar schools existed in the United States. Being the most

capable, the graduates of the German schools of technology received the most responsible positions, won in the competitions for the best engineering work offered in the United States, and their monopoly continued for the greater part of the nineteenth century, until our schools became efficient.

The greatest advances made in the history of bridge-building in the United States were produced by two Germans, John A. Röbling, the inventor of the modern suspension bridge, and by Charles C. Schneider, constructor of the successful cantilever bridge. John A. Röbling was born in Mühlhausen, Prussia, in 1806, and was a graduate of the Royal Polytechnicum of Berlin. In America he began first as a manufacturer of wire cables, locating at Saxonburg, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburg. His idea was to have them used in the canal service, but he was thwarted by the opposition of the canal hands, who feared the innovation. Röbling then planned to use his wire cables for bridges, and in 1844 he succeeded in giving them a trial in his bridge over the Allegheny River. He then built the Monongahela suspension bridge at Pittsburg, fifteen hundred feet in length. His next great work was the Niagara River suspension bridge, 1851–1855, one of the engineering feats of the nineteenth century. It has been the only *railroad* suspension bridge in the world that has stood the test of time, the one in Vienna being used for only a short period. The bridge lasted forty-two years, and was taken down in 1897, not because it was inefficient, but because the heavier railroad trains required a bridge of different construction. When the bridge was taken apart, the wire cables manufactured by Röbling were found to be as elastic as they had been when originally put into their places. The strain of forty-two years had not hurt

them. In 1862 Röbling had the satisfaction of rebuilding the bridge at Wheeling, West Virginia, which his sharp competitor, Charles Ellet, had put up, but which had been blown down by a storm in 1849. Röbling's success with this bridge left him undisputed master of the field. His suspension bridge over the Ohio at Cincinnati, long delayed by the Civil War, was completed in 1867, and after that followed the masterpiece of all, the East River bridge uniting New York and Brooklyn, popularly known as the Brooklyn Bridge, a marvel of strength and beauty, which for more than thirty-five years has performed harder daily service than any other bridge in the world. The architect was not destined to see it completed; but his son, Washington Augustus Röbling, who had already assisted his father with the Cincinnati bridge, undertook the work of construction, and directed it to completion. The factory of the Röblings, the John A. Roebling & Sons Company, manufacturers of iron and steel wire and wire rope, located at Trenton, New Jersey, is unequaled in its particular branch, and has furnished all the cables for the new larger suspension bridge over the East River, at Williamsburg.

Charles Conrad Schneider, born in Apolda, Saxony, in 1843, was not the first man to build a cantilever bridge in the United States. The credit of that belongs to C. Shaler Smith, who built one over the Kentucky River on the Cincinnati & Ohio Railroad, which was completed in 1877. But Schneider's cantilever bridge at Niagara Falls was the successful structure which made that style of bridge-building popular. His Niagara River cantilever bridge was completed in 1883, in an almost incredibly short time, and its advantages were at once evident. He also constructed the Fraser River (cantilever) bridge, on

the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1882, and in 1886 received the first prize for his design of Washington Bridge across the Harlem River. He was vice-president of the American Bridge Company, in charge of engineering, 1900–1903.

The chief engineer of the American Bridge Company since May, 1901, is Paul L. Wolfel, born in Dresden, Germany, in 1862. He came to America in 1888, and started in the Pencoyd Iron Works as assistant engineer.

Both as civil engineer and organizer of railway traffic no man has rendered more conspicuous service than Albert Fink, born at Lauterbach, Germany, in 1827. He was trained at the Polytechnic School of Darmstadt, and emigrated in 1849. In the service of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad he became one of the pioneers in the construction of *iron* bridges and viaducts, and led the way to the present high standard. One of the largest bridges in the country, the iron bridge over the Ohio River at Louisville, Kentucky, completed in 1872, bears witness to his skill. In 1857 he was employed as assistant engineer of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, advancing quickly to the position of chief engineer, then to superintendent, general manager, and vice-president, keeping the latter office until 1875. During the Civil War the Louisville & Nashville was the only railroad in the West able to carry the Federal armies and supplies to the South. A bone of bitter contention, it became a victim of fierce raids, and Mr. Fink's resources were heavily taxed to maintain the line of communication intact. After the war, as general manager of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, he made a minute investigation into the cost of railway transportation, and his report was regarded as masterly and exhaustive. Realizing the importance of reform in freight

and passenger service, he became the moving force in the organization in 1875 of the Southern Railway & Steamship Association, the object of which was to establish uniform independent tariffs over the whole system of Southern transportation lines. A permanent bureau was established at Atlanta, Georgia, which united twenty-five transportation lines under an executive officer, who was authorized to see that the agreements were properly carried out, and to arbitrate difficulties. For the first six months Mr. Fink occupied this position himself, in order to put a system into successful operation which resulted in unrealized advantages for the railroads and public alike. Albert Fink next followed a call of the great trunk-lines, which had engaged in a destructive rate-war during 1875 and 1876 and began to realize the necessity of a similar institution in the North. The Trunk-Line Commission was accordingly organized, the original members of which were the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore & Ohio, but which soon embraced nearly all the railroads east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, including the Canadian railways. The object of the association was again to agree upon tariffs and avoid railroad wars through arbitration. Coöperation was the principle that Albert Fink stood for, and not railroad wrecking. He also invented the system of through freight and passenger service. By coöperating in keeping account of rolling-stock, and shipping cars back, railroads for the first time began to bill freight through to distant points without the necessity of reloading. The frequent changes of cars in passenger service were likewise minimized. Albert Fink was honored with the presidency of the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1878.[1]

[1] *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, p. 489. *Publi-*

The first superintendent of the United States Coast Survey was Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler, of German parentage, born at Aarau, Switzerland, in 1770. He took part in a trigonometrical survey of his native country, and coming to the United States, he was appointed acting professor of mathematics at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1807, through the influence of his friend and fellow countryman, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson. Shortly after, Congress passed an act for the survey of the coasts, and plans were invited from scientists. Professor Hassler's were accepted, and he was sent to Europe to procure an equipment of instruments and men. In 1817 he began his operations with a survey of the harbor of New York City, but the work was discontinued the following year, Congress failing to provide funds, owing to the heavy war debt. For the next two years or more Hassler tried himself at farming, buying land in the northern part of New York, near the outlet of Lake Ontario. He built a large house, planning to found an agricultural college, but his means were insufficient.[1] The work of the survey was resumed in 1832, after which Hassler was the active head until his death in 1843. He left the survey well advanced along the coast between Narragansett and Chesapeake bays. In 1830 he had been appointed by the government to standardize weights and measures, and for his successful efforts received grateful acknowledgment at home and abroad. The pioneer work of Hassler, both in the surveys and in the standardizing of weights and measures, was continued by another eminent scientist of German blood.

cations of American Society of Civil Engineers; also, *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 431 ff.

[1] Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 1818–1848, p. 414.

Julius Erasmus Hilgard, of a distinguished family,[1] was born at Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, in 1825, and settled with his father at Belleville, Illinois, in 1835. Studying civil engineering at Philadelphia, J. E. Hilgard attracted the attention of Alexander B. Bache, who was then reorganizing the United States Coast Survey. After being appointed to take charge of a party to make trigonometric, astronomic, and magnetic observations, Hilgard soon rose to be chief of the Bureau of the Coast Survey with headquarters at Washington. During the war he fulfilled with great ability the task of supplying information on topography, geography, geology, and tidal currents. When Professor Bache retired, in 1864, the whole work of the coast survey was in Mr. Hilgard's hands for three years. After that he gave the greater part of his attention to the Bureau of Weights and Measures, and advocated the adoption of the metric system. He made the first reliable determination of the difference of longitude between Washington, Greenwich, and Paris, and in 1872 was the official representative of the United States at the international convention at Paris for forming an international

[1] His father, Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, at home a prominent jurist, and a judge (1831–1835) of the Bavarian Court of Appeals, was at Belleville a successful "Latin farmer," viticulturist, and man of letters. He paid still more attention to the rearing of his sons, each of whom became distinguished in his particular profession. In 1851 he was invited by the Bavarian government to take part in recasting the law of mortgages. He died in Heidelberg, Germany, in 1873. The career of the youngest son, E. W. Hilgard, professor of agriculture and founder of the Experiment Station, University of California, has been outlined in the previous chapter (II). Theodore Charles Hilgard, the second son, after studying medicine at the universities of Heidelberg, Zurich, Vienna, and Berlin, settled down as a physician in St. Louis, subsequently removing to New York. He was an investigator of great note; his papers are published in the proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. One of his earliest treatises was his fundamental work: *Experimental Observations on Taste and Smell* (1854).

bureau of weights and measures. In 1881 Hilgard became the superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, a position which he resigned in 1885. One of the original members of the National Academy of Sciences, he was for seven years its secretary. In 1874 he was honored with the presidency of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. His publications and his active service have been epoch-making in the departments of the Coast Survey, and Weights and Measures.

Men of German descent born in the United States soon figured prominently. A. P. Boller (born in Philadelphia) built a large number of bridges, among others the Central Avenue Bridge, Newark, New Jersey, the viaduct[1] over the Harlem River (125th Street, New York), the Four-Track Duluth-Superior Bridge, and the Thames River Bridge at New London, Connecticut, noted for its great double-track draw-span, five hundred and three feet long. Another bridge-builder is R. Khuen (born at Saginaw, Michigan), chief engineer (Pittsburg district) of the American Bridge Company since 1901.

An important name in railway engineering is that of Herman Haupt, born in Philadelphia, in 1817, and a graduate of West Point. He was general superintendent, chief engineer, and director of the Pennsylvania Railroad; engineer of the Hoosac Tunnel, 1847–1861; brigadier-general and chief of bureau, United States Military Railways, in the Civil War; general manager of the Piedmont Air

[1] "This is nearly forty-five hundred feet in length, cost upward of two million dollars, and is not only noted for its architectural character but, constructively, as one of the most difficult works in engineering, both in the foundation difficulties overcome and in its unprecedented draw-span, weighing twenty-four hundred tons, the largest moving mass in the world; being double the weight of the New London draw previously mentioned." *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, pp. 43–44.

Line, 1875; later he was engineer of the Tide Water Pipe-Line Company, and general manager of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Frank J. Hecker (born in Michigan, in 1846) was chief of the division of transportation of the army during the Spanish-American War, and a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1904. Noted German names among railway engineers and officials are Kniskern (since 1901 passenger traffic manager of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad); Henry Fink (born in Germany), president of the Norfolk and Western Railway; R. Blickensderfer (general manager of the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad, etc.); J. Kruttschnitt (general manager of the Southern Pacific, etc.); G. J. Lydecker, military engineer, brevetted captain for gallant and meritorious service in the siege of Petersburg, Virginia, engaged as engineer in river and harbor work at Galveston, New Orleans, Chicago, etc.

The list of members of the American Society of Civil Engineers abounds in German names, and the biographical sketches contained in the publications of that eminent society show most prominent as a class the engineers born in Germany, or of German descent. A few more examples will illustrate this point: Lewis Mühlenberg Haupt (son of Herman Haupt), professor of civil engineering, University of Pennsylvania, 1872–1892, member of the Isthmian Canal Commission since 1899, chief engineer on the survey for a ship canal across New Jersey, etc.; G. Y. Wisner, member of the United States Deep Water Ways Commission, 1897–1900; E. Wegmann, engaged in railway construction, 1871–1884, and on the new waterworks for New York since 1884; E. A. Hermann, since 1899 member of the Board of Public Improvements and Sewer Commissioner, St. Louis; J. K. Freitag, New England

representative of the Hecla Iron Works; John Bogart, engineer, hydraulic and electric development of power at Niagara Falls, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Lawrence River, etc.; W. P. Gerhard, sanitary engineer on staff of state architect of New York, 1892–1899; Henry Wehrum, builder of the immense Lackawanna Steel Works, at Buffalo; W. G. Berg, chief engineer, Lehigh Valley Railroad; M. Bein, an authority on matters of irrigation in the West; O. H. Ernst, Spanish War veteran, distinguished for work at Galveston, and reappointed member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1905; D. M. Stauffer, railway engineer and editor of the "Engineering News," New York, since 1883. Spencer Miller has made inventions facilitating the coaling of vessels at sea.[1] Count Ferdinand Zeppelin made his first experiments with the dirigible war balloon in this country, while serving in an engineering corps during the Civil War. Theodore P. Shonts, late chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, is of Dutch descent.

The most prominent of all the numerous German electrical engineers is Charles P. Steinmetz, born in Breslau, Germany, 1865. Steinmetz left Germany because of difficulties resulting from his socialistic writings. Coming to America, he had to meet the whip of ill fortune before his real worth and the bent of his genius were discovered. Since then, his laboratory at Schenectady, in the works of the General Electric Company, has become the scene of some of the most searching investigations and brilliant discoveries made within recent times. As an investigator and inventor, Steinmetz is the peer of Edison. His official

[1] Cf. *The Miller Cableway for Coaling Vessels at Sea, Engineering News*, 1900; *The Problem of Coaling Vessels at Sea, Engineering Magazine*, February, 1900.

position is that of consulting engineer of the General Electric Company.

The representative of the Edison Company in England and Germany, and subsequently chief inspector of the central station for the Edison Company, has been W. J. Hammer.[1] It was he who installed the 8000-light plant of the Ponce de Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida, at that time the largest plant in the world for incandescent lighting. Other prominent names in electrical engineering are A. J. Wurts, general engineer for the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company; A. L. Rohrer, electrical superintendent, Schenectady Works, General Electric Company; H. M. Brinckerhoff, who constructed the first large electric elevated railroad (third rail) for Chicago, in 1894; B. A. Behrend (born in Germany), chief engineer, Bullock Electric Manufacturing Company, Cincinnati, and designer of some of the largest electrical machines, which received the grand prize at St. Louis in 1904; F. B. Herzog, an inventor of electrical devices, including automatic switch-boards, police-calls, elevator signals, and telephone devices.

Among the mining engineers, Germans are also very numerous. The most prominent name historically is that of Adolph H. J. Sutro, born in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Rhenish Prussia, 1830. He was educated in a German polytechnic school, and came to America in 1850. In 1860 he went to Nevada, where he conceived the plan of draining the mines of the Comstock Lode by means of a connecting tunnel. The main tunnel, over twenty thousand feet in length, begun in 1869, was connected with the first of the mines in 1878. Virginia City rose above the

[1] Hammer was born in Pennsylvania, the son of William A. and Martha Beck Hammer. He has been the right-hand man of Edison since 1880.

great work. A remarkable feature of the undertaking was the stubborn fight which Sutro made against the opposition of reactionary interests in Nevada, as well as against their representatives in the Congress of the United States.[1]

Other mining engineers are A. F. Eilers (born in Nassau, Germany), president of the Colorado Smelting Company, of Pueblo, Colorado, 1883–1889; since then director and technical member of the executive committee, American Smelting and Refining Company; Max Boehmer (born in Lüneburg, Germany), consulting mining engineer, Leadville, Colorado; Albert Arents (born in Clausthal, Germany), inventor of lead-mine machinery, introduced the rectangular large-sized lead furnaces with boshes, the type now used by lead-smelters in the United States; C. W. H. Kirchoff, editor of "The Iron Age," since 1883 special agent of the United States Geological Survey for statistics on production of lead, copper, and zinc; F. A. Heinze, interested in mining and smelting in Montana; C. de Kalb, mining engineer in Western and Southern States and on expeditions to Central and South America.[2]

The great manufacturers in special lines, aiming to improve the quality and usefulness of their products, and thereby to surpass their competitors, have frequently be-

[1] Theodore Sutro (born in Aachen, in 1845), prominent lawyer of New York City, was instrumental in raising the capital for his brother's large venture. In 1887 he successfully defended the interests of the Sutro Tunnel Company, and organized its successor, the Comstock Tunnel Company. Theodore Sutro was active in the reform campaign of 1894 in New York, and is an authority on the law of taxation. (See Chapter IV.) Another brother, Otto Sutro, musician and merchant, was the founder of the Oratorio Society of Baltimore, and prominent in the musical history of that city.

[2] The statistics in this paragraph are taken from *Who's Who in America*, 1906–1907.

come inventors. Many of the engineers above mentioned should be classed as inventors, foremost among them, Röbling and Steinmetz; similarly many of the men engaged in horticulture and the manufacture of food products, as well as many of the specialists to be mentioned in succeeding paragraphs.

The principle observed above, that the Germans were particularly prominent in those forms of industrial activity in which preliminary training is an essential to success, applies not only to the engineering professions, but also to the chemical industries, the manufacture of instruments, machinery, glass, steel, etc.

In the chemical industries the Germans are well represented.[1] In the manufacture of chemicals the two leading German firms are Rosengarten & Sons, of Philadelphia, and Charles Pfizer & Company, of New York, both of which have contributed an important share in the development of their industries, notably in the preparation of quinine, strychnine, morphine, and the mercurials, calomel and corrosive sublimate. Both of these firms own large establishments and are rated in the millions. Among pharmaceutical manufacturers the German element is represented by the firm of Sharp & Dohme, of Baltimore. The founders, Louis and Charles Dohme, were both born in Germany, Sharp, the silent partner, contributing capital. Two phases of the business were given particular attention by this firm, viz., first, the making of pharmaceutical preparations of standard strength and uniformity, with a view also to palatableness and attractive appearance; and secondly, applying chemical analysis and scientific research to vegetable drugs, as had been done pre-

[1] The writer is indebted for the information in this paragraph to Dr. A. R. L. Dohme of Baltimore.

viously only to inorganic substances. The latter feature is one introduced by the younger generation of the firm, trained carefully in the laboratories of this country and abroad. As importers of chemical glassware and German pure chemicals there are two leading German firms; Eimer & Amend, and Lehn & Fink.

In the history of patent medicine manufacture the Baltimore firm of Charles Vogler & Company played an important rôle. Their famous medicine was St. Jacob's Oil, which at one time was carried up and down the Mississippi in a steamboat owned by the firm. Another Baltimore firm, the A. C. Meyer Company, produced a liniment very similar, called the Salvation Oil. Other chemical firms not already mentioned are Maas & Waldstein of South Orange, New Jersey. The president, M. E. Waldstein, born in New York, is also the head of the Atlantic Chemical Works. The firm of Schieffelin Brothers, wholesale druggists of New York, was established in 1764. They claim to have introduced petroleum commercially in 1860.[1] The Meyer Brothers Drug Company, of St. Louis, manufacturers of drugs and perfumes, are leaders in the West. G. A. Koenig (born in Baden), professor of chemistry in the Michigan College of Mines, was the chemist of the Tacony Chemical Works of Philadelphia, 1868–1872. He manufactured sodium stannate from tin scraps, and is the discoverer of several new minerals. Historically the German retail druggists have performed conspicuous service throughout the country. The "Deutsche Apotheke," so frequently seen in our cities, conducted by well-trained pharmacists, had the effect of improving the standard of

[1] Bradhurst Schieffelin has been a benefactor of thousands of destitute persons, and organized the Bread and Shelter Societies, to remove destitute persons from cities to rural districts for their self-support.

the prescription chemist, with a good influence on the health of the community at large.

In the manufacture of scientific apparatus German firms are prominent. Bausch & Lomb, of Rochester, New York, are the leading manufacturers in the United States of scientific and optical apparatus, and have made many serviceable inventions.[1] Emil Meyrowitz, born at Danzig, Germany, is president of the Meyrowitz Manufacturing Company, and has introduced numerous improvements in optical work. He is now owner of the main store and three branches in New York, one in Paris (France), and one each in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Louis Gathmann, born in the province of Hanover, Germany, made improvements in the telescope, and is the inventor of the Gathmann gun. His fellow countryman, Emil Berliner, invented the gramophone in 1887, and is the patentee of valuable inventions in telephony.

The manufacture of machines is popularly and with some degree of propriety regarded as an American industry. The German element contributed very largely, however, in the development of this industry. An illustration can be furnished in the manufacture of agricultural machinery. The city of Canton, Ohio, owes its prosperity largely to its manufactures of agricultural implements. Mr. Aultman (of German blood) was one of Ohio's pioneer manufacturers[2] and is the head of the firm of Aultman, Miller & Company, at Canton, where the Buckeye mower was developed and for many years manufactured. He was also a partner in the Aultman & Taylor Company, of Mansfield, Ohio, where the "endless apron" thresher and many other

[1] Edward Bausch (member of the firm) was born at Rochester, and is a graduate of Cornell University.

[2] Ephraim Ball, at one time associated with Aultman, was in all probability also of German descent. The *Deutsche Pionier* states that it was so.

agricultural implements were made. The firm later became one of the largest in the thresher industry.[1] The Buckeye interests owed much to Lewis Miller, the modern mowing-machine being an offspring of his brain, and for this invention he will ever deserve the gratitude of his countrymen.[2] Aultman, Miller & Company established a twine factory (Akron, Ohio) in connection with their harvester plant. The use of twine in binding was a distinct advantage.

To get some additional assurance of the German representation in the manufacture of agricultural machinery, the writer has been in correspondence with the editor of the "Akron Germania,"[3] Mr. Louis Seybold, who is interested in the history of the Germans of his state. The following quotations from his letters give additional information: "The founders of this industry [agricultural implements] in Akron, Canton, Doylestown, Mansfield, etc., were of German extraction, but as far as I know, all born in this country. They were John F. Seiberling, John R. Buchtel, Lewis Miller, George W. Crouse (Kraus), Aultman, etc., who traced their origin back to the Fatherland. They could all talk the Pennsylvania-Dutch. Seiberling owned and operated the Empire Mower and Reaper Works in this city from 1870 to about 1890. Miller, Crouse, and Buchtel owned, under the name of Aultman, Miller & Company, the Buckeye Mower and Reaper Works,

[1] Cf. R. L. Ardrey, *American Agricultural Implements Industry of the United States*, p. 217, copyrighted 1894. Cf. also *Der deutsche Pionier*.

[2] Ardrey, *supra*, p. 209.

[3] This German paper recently published an elaborate Christmas edition containing a very interesting history of the Germans of the city and surrounding parts. The early settlement and the German contribution to the prosperity of the city are very clearly set forth. The date of the number is December 22, 1906. The example of the *Akron Germania* should be repeated in other places.

in Akron, Ohio, a few years ago absorbed by the Harvester Trust. Aultman and Miller were interested in the Aultman works in Canton, and I believe Mansfield also, manufacturing threshing-machines principally. The Seiberlings were interested in a smaller concern of this kind in Doylestown, Wayne County, Ohio." [1]

Another pioneer firm in the manufacture of agricultural implements was the Parlin & Orendorff Company, of Canton, Illinois. They served the cause by the introduction of a better plow. Orendorff was undoubtedly of German blood. Another German firm was Weusthoff & Getz, of Dayton, Ohio, who manufactured grain-drills, corn-planters, harrows, lawn-mowers, etc. Still another firm of German name is that of the Geiser Manufacturing Company of Waynesboro, Pennsylvania. They built the Geiser self-regulating threshers and horse powers, beginning the manufacture of engines in 1879, when they purchased the plant of F. F. and A. B. Landis (Pennsylvania-Germans, descendants of Mennonites), of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. F. F. Landis took at this time the position of superintendent, and in 1889 designed the New Peerless Thresher.[2] J. J. Glessner (born at Zanesville, Ohio) is chairman of the executive committee and vice-president of the International Harvester Company.

A manufacturer of machines in another department is James Leffel, who has given his name to the Leffel turbine wheels manufactured by his son-in-law, J. W. Bookwalter (German name Buchwalter, anglicized), at Springfield,

[1] From the same source the writer learned that Anton Berg (an old settler), now living in Akron, Ohio, practical locksmith and mechanic, claims that he made the first knives for the firm of Ketchum & Howe in Buffalo, who were making some of the first harvesting-machines in the years 1847 and 1848. Mr. Berg also made the first Buckeye machine in Akron. He is a native of Germany.

[2] Ardrey, p. 234.

Ohio, where also the Bookwalter engines are built. Blickensderfer (a good German-Moravian name) is the inventor of one of the popular typewriters of to-day.

In the history of glass-blowing in the United States German pioneers are found in the eighteenth century. It is claimed that Caspar Wistar, who came to America from Baden in 1717, built the first glass-factory in the Colonies, near Alloway Town, a few miles east of Salem, N.J., in 1738. He imported glass-blowers from Rotterdam to learn the trade from them, and, in conjunction with his son, manufactured glassware of all kinds for many years.[1] Amelung's glass-works, on Bennett's Creek, near the Monocacy River (Frederick County, Maryland), were probably as well known as any in the country at the time. Washington, writing to Jefferson concerning this "factory of glass upon a large scale on the Monocacy River," states that he is informed it would produce the value of ten thousand pounds in that year.[2] Baron Stiegel's glass-works, at Mannheim in Pennsylvania, were established before the Revolutionary War.[3] One of the noted glass-blowers of the present day is Valentine Remmel, born in Pittsburg, 1853, and son of a German father.[4] Carl Langenbeck, of German descent, is a specialist in clay products. He was formerly superintendent of the Rookwood Pottery, Cincinnati, and the originator of "Rookwood faience," and "aventurine pottery glazes." He is also the consulting chemist and engineer of several potteries, tile and mosaic works. Thomas Key Niedringhaus,[5] descended from a

[1] Cf. *The National Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. xii, p. 359.

[2] See Volume I, pp. 172–173. [3] See Volume I, pp. 140–143.

[4] Remmel is noted also as an organizer of the socialistic party. He was candidate for Vice-President on the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party, 1900.

[5] Mr. Niedringhaus was prominently before the public recently in his fight for the United States Senatorship. He had received the caucus nomina-

well-known German family in Missouri, was the secretary of the St. Louis Stamping Company in 1880, and is a director and vice-president of the National Enameling and Stamping Company.

In the iron and steel industry a large number of Germans have been prominent from the very beginning of its history. Perhaps the earliest iron-works on record were those of Governor Spotswood at Germanna (Virginia), about 1714–1720, which were operated by colonists from Siegen, Germany.[1] In Pennsylvania the first foundry was erected in 1716 by an English Quaker; ten years later the German Mennonite Kurtz built his works on Octorara Creek, in Lancaster County.[2] Berks County soon became a centre of the iron industry, and most of the iron-masters were Germans. The "Oley" works were established in 1745 by two Germans and an Englishman. On the Tulpehocken Creek, two miles from Womelsdorf (Conrad Weiser's original colony), iron-works were started in 1749, with the name "Tulpehocken Eisenhammer," still in existence in 1884, and called "Charming Forge." In Lancaster County the "Elisabeth Hochofen," which ran for more than one hundred years, was founded in 1750 by Johann Huber, a German. The furnace bore the inscription: —

> "Johann Huber, der erste deutsche Mann,
> Der das Eisenwerk vollführen kann."

He sold his works in 1757 to Baron H. W. Stiegel, whose enterprises at Mannheim have been fully described in an

tion, January 5, 1905, but failed of election by a bolt in the legislature in joint session. He is also vice-president of the Commonwealth Steel Company and secretary of the Granite Realty and Investment Company.

[1] Volume I, Chapter VII, pp. 178 ff.

[2] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 5, 1730; quoted by *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xvi, pp. 191–194. Much of the material above on the Pennsylvania iron industry of the early period is derived from the latter source.

early chapter.[1] But for the Revolutionary War, Baron Stiegel might have recovered fully from his subsequent financial difficulties. His manufacture of pig-iron was a success, and so also were his stoves. Christoph Sauer manufactured stoves in 1750. In Lebanon County the Germans erected the "Martin Forge," still existing in 1884.

In Pittsburg the first iron was made in 1792 by Georg Anschütz, a native of Strassburg. With two associates, one of them, John Gloninger, a German from Lancaster County, he built the Huntingdon furnace in 1796. Samuel Fahnenstock and Georg Schönberger, both Germans, built the "Juniata Forge," in Huntingdon County, in 1804. Peter Schönberger (son of Georg) was one of two who erected the "Cambria Iron Company" in Johnstown. Peter Schönberger and Robert Coleman (Scotchman) are said to have been the two most prominent iron manufacturers in Pennsylvania during the first half of the nineteenth century. In Eastern Pennsylvania the Germans Haldemann, Kaufmann, Wistar, Eckert took a prominent part. In the Juniata Valley, the pioneers were Spang, Schmucker, School, Swope, Royer, Baker, Diller, Trexler. Germans represented the industry in Center, Clarion, and Clearfield counties. In the last-named Friedrich Geissenheimer, in 1834, manufactured iron in his "Valley Furnace," using anthracite coal, the first time that had been done. These statistics show that the German iron-masters were quite well scattered over the whole iron-producing area of Pennsylvania.

In the nineteenth century John Fritz, still living in the Pennsylvania town of Bethlehem, was the father of the steel mill.[2] He was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania,

[1] Volume I, pp. 140–143.

[2] Cf. Herbert N. Casson's articles: *The Romance of Steel and Iron*, in *Munsey's Magazine*, April, 1906, p. 3.

in 1822, became a mill foreman in the Norristown Iron Works, and with others started a small machine-shop in 1852. He was made general superintendent of the Columbia Iron Works, Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1854. He then entered the service of the Bethlehem Iron Company as general superintendent and engineer in 1860, and built the works of that company. He retired in 1892. From the Iron and Steel Institute of Great Britain [1] he received the Bessemer gold medal for services in the advancement of steel manufactures. He was selected by the Armor Plate Board, in 1897, to make plans and estimates for government armor-plate works.

A graphic account of the development of the great steel industry at Pittsburg is given in the recent articles of H. N. Casson.[2] The central figure is naturally the Scotchman, Andrew Carnegie. His two ablest lieutenants, however, were men of German descent, Henry Clay Frick and Charles M. Schwab. One is reminded of that brilliant feat in the history of Western border warfare, the conquest of the Illinois territory, when George Rogers Clark, of English descent, had two able German lieutenants, Helm and Bowman. The development of the steel and iron industry is comparable to an invasion of the vast unknown, opening up undreamed of possibilities. The conspicuous service of Frick consisted in the great fight that he made against organized labor during the Homestead strike in

[1] It is an interesting fact that a number of Germans were prominent in giving England the first rank in iron manufacture. Huntsmann, inventor of a casting process, was the son of a German. Siemens, the inventor of the regenerative steam engine, etc., was a Hanoverian. Bolkow, founder of the largest iron foundry of England, Bolkow, Vaughan & Company, was a German. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xvi, p. 194.

[2] Cf. Herbert N. Casson, *The Romance of Steel and Iron in America, Munsey's Magazine*, April to December, 1906, and concluded in 1907.

1892. It was a question as to which should be the master, the guiding head, or the brawny arm. Frick stood alone in the fight, but possessed the courage and persistence to carry it through. All steel-makers shared the fruits of his victory. Capital was set free for the first time to make sweeping improvements. Mr. Frick declared, a few months after the strike, that, although he had put in machinery displacing four hundred men, more men were employed very soon after in the iron and steel trade than ever before, and the work was done more easily.[1]

Charles M. Schwab had perhaps the most rapid rise in the history of the steel trade. Frick's antecedents were poor Pennsylvania-German farmers; Schwab's father kept a village store. The son, after crude beginnings, made the acquaintance of Captain Jones, of the steel-works. There Schwab showed natural talent for mechanics, and from his teacher, a leader of men, he learned to manage the laborers. After the accidental death of Jones, the heaviest burden of the Carnegie concern fell on the shoulders of Schwab. "It was he also who reconstructed the Homestead Works from the ruins after the great strike; who created the profitable armor-plate department; who originated the Saturday meetings of superintendents. With cheerful self-assurance he accepted any responsibility that was offered. Enthusiasm he found was better than experience; nothing daunted him. He swept into the golden sea with all sails set and with the band playing. Had he been asked to reconstruct the Empire of Russia or to federate the South American Republics, he would have replied without hesitation — 'Yes, good idea! I will attend to that next week.' Schwab's greatest achievement was the handling of the Homestead Steel

[1] Cf. Casson, July number, p. 457.

Works after the great strike. It seemed a four million dollar mistake. The machinery was not working properly, and the men were not working at all. There was a stupid rabble of strike-breakers and a sullen army of five thousand workmen to deal with. And the whole place had been for five months a battlefield, passion-swept and bloodstained, the Waterloo of organized labor. In the words of Carnegie, 'Schwab is a genius in the managing of men and machinery. I never saw a man who could grasp a new idea so quickly.' When Carnegie saw that Schwab had 'made good' at Homestead, he made him president of the whole concern, so that not even the masterful Frick was equal to him in authority. This has been perhaps the first instance in which so young a man, absolutely without business experience, was placed in command over so great a corporation." [1]

An interesting item in the history of steel production is the summoning from Germany of specialists in chemistry. "When the pioneers had demonstrated the value of chemistry in the iron and steel industry, Carnegie brought Dr. Fricke from Germany and paid him a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year, to be the company's chemist. 'This was considered an enormous salary,' said Mr. Carnegie. 'The other steel men said, we cannot afford to pay such salaries to German scientists.' But he replied, 'We cannot afford to be without them.' Before the first year was out, Dr. Fricke had earned his salary over and over again by enabling the company to use ores that formerly steel men considered unavailable." [2]

Other iron men of German name are William H. Pfahler (born in Lancaster County), since 1870 identified with the Abraham Stove Company, and president of the Model

[1] Casson, August number, p. 586. [2] Casson, July number, p. 453.

Heating Company.[1] There is Charles T. Schoen, who invented the pressed-steel coal and freight railway cars (1897); Otto Pluemer (born in Cassel, Germany), vice-president and treasurer of the Beveridge-Pluemer Company (pig-iron). William Edenborn (born in Westphalia, Germany), member of the executive and advisory committee, United States Steel Corporation (1901–1904), has long been connected with the Consolidated Steel and Wire Company, and has made many inventions important in the wire industry.[2] Henry Clay Frick, as president of the H. C. Frick Coke Company, is the largest coke producer in the world, operating nearly forty thousand acres of coal and twelve thousand coke-ovens, with a daily capacity of twenty-five thousand tons.

In the textile industries there are a few prominent German names. John William Fries (born in Salem, North Carolina, and member of the German-Moravian Church) is a noted cotton and woolen goods manufacturer and inventor of machines and processes for dyeing woolens and cloth. Henry L. Deimel (born in Germany) is an authority on the subject of hygienic clothing, advocating porous linen fabric for wear next to the skin. He is president of the Deimel Linen-Mesh System Company of San Francisco. Another influential factor in hygienic clothing are the agencies of the Jäger underwear establishments in all parts of the country. One of the greatest of American furriers is Gustav Beyer, born in Saxony, located in New

[1] He organized and was president of the National Founders' Association, and assisted in organizing the National Metal Trades Association. He was one of the original Committee of Seven that organized the Committee of Seventy, which accomplished the overthrow of the political ring of Philadelphia.

[2] The name of Röbling should of course not be omitted in connection with the wire industry. In Maryland the iron merchants have been R. C. Hoffman and R. Brent Keyser, both of German descent.

York City.[1] One of the most interesting figures in the textile industries is Alfred Dolge, born in Chemnitz, Germany (1848). He came to New York in 1866, and worked on the bench as a piano-maker. He started in business in July, 1869, and has been prominent in the manufacture of felt, including the finest grades, such as are used in the manufacture of pianos. In 1903 he organized the Alfred Dolge Manufacturing Company and established the first felt and felt-shoe factories on the Pacific Coast. In connection with Henry E. Huntington, he founded the town of Dolgeville, California, seven miles east of Los Angeles (subsequent to his ventures at Dolgeville, New York). He introduced in his factories a labor pension and insurance system. He is also president of the Dolge-Posey Company, manufacturers of piano sound-boards.

As tanners and manufacturers of leather the Germans have some prominent representatives, such as the firm of Foerderer (Robert H.), of Philadelphia, sole manufacturers at one time of vici kid; Schoelkopf, of Buffalo, famous for their sheep-skins. Charles Weisse was brought up in the tanning business and for eighteen years has owned his present plant at Sheboygan Falls, Wisconsin.[2] The firm of A. Groetzinger & Son, of Allegheny City, manufactures sole leather and belting, J. Groetzinger, of the same city, harness leather. G. Groetzinger's Sons, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, are also manufacturers of harness leather. Charles Hauselt, of New York, tans calf-skins, Kaufherr & Company, of Newark, alligator- and snake-skins. In the same city William Zahn manufactures glazed leather. In Milwaukee there are the leather firms Pfister & Vogel,

[1] He has recently retired from his large business. He is also an entomologist and owns one of the largest known collections of American beetles.

[2] He was a member of Congress, from the Sixth Wisconsin District (1903–1909). He was reëlected to the present (Sixty-first) Congress.

Trostel & Zohrlant. Allegheny City has several more German tanners, mainly of harness leather, Lappe, Holstein, Hax, Flaccus. Very well known is Charles A. Schieren, born in Prussia (1842); he established the business known as Charles A. Schieren & Company, tanners and belting manufacturers, one of the largest concerns of the kind in the United States. Mr. Schieren was a popular mayor of Brooklyn in 1894–95.

In cabinet-making and kindred industries the Germans are influential. Richard Herrmann, born in Chemnitz, Saxony, is one of the largest furniture manufacturers of the country, and president of the Dubuque Cabinet-Makers' Association.[1] The files, sectional cabinets, and card-index cases of the Globe-Wernicke Company of Cincinnati are familiar sights in offices all over the country. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, most of the furniture makers are Dutch, some are German.

In the manufacture and invention of vehicles of transportation the German element has unsurpassed representatives. The largest electric car and truck building firm in the world is the J. G. Brill Company, whose business in 1907 amounted to ten million dollars. The company operates not only the central factory at Philadelphia, covering nearly thirty acres, but during the last seven years has bought and is operating the following additional plants: American Car Company, St. Louis, Mo.; the G. C. Kuhlman Car Company, Cleveland, O.; John Stephenson Company, Elizabeth, N. J.; Wason Manufacturing Company, Springfield, Mass.; Danville Car Company, Danville, Ill.; and the Compagnie J. G. Brill, Paris, France. The founder, John George Brill, was born near Cassel,

[1] He is the founder also of the Herrmann Museum of Natural History, and secretary of the Iowa Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Germany, in 1817, and came to America in 1847. For nearly twenty years he was in the employ of Philadelphia car-builders, until 1868, when with his son, G. Martin Brill, he founded the J. G. Brill Company. After his death, in 1888, the business was continued by his four sons. Of these, George Martin Brill, one of the founders, lived until 1906; John A. Brill was a remarkable inventor in car and truck construction; while Edward and George Brill were directors of the lumber department.[1]

The largest vehicle factory in the United States is that of the Studebaker Brothers in South Bend, Indiana. They manufacture over one hundred thousand vehicles a year, including ten thousand automobiles. The Studebakers are Pennsylvania-Germans, originally from Switzerland, and belonged to the sect of Dunkards, German Baptists. In 1835 the father, a blacksmith, and five sons, migrated from the neighborhood of Gettysburg to Ashland County, Ohio. Two sons learned from him their father's trade; one of them was a wood-worker. The latter, J. M. Studebaker, made the wood-work for one of the first Studebaker wagons in 1852, his brothers ironed it, and he crossed the Plains with it in 1853. Returning from California, in 1858, he bought out his elder brother's wagon-shop, and established the firm of J. M. Studebaker & Brother, which later took in the younger brothers also. One of their early successes was making wagons for the government during the Civil War, which were all made by hand. Three wagons a day was then the high record. Now it is four hundred. The wagons that they sent to the army laid the foundation for their vast business. There was quality in them, and when a soldier came home to his

[1] These statements are based upon information derived from the firm by letter, August 18, 1909.

father, he said, "Buy a Studebaker wagon, as they were the only ones that gave us service." Questioned as to the history of the leadership of the Studebaker wagons, the reply[1] of one of the brothers was: "Hard work for fifteen hours a day for twenty-five to thirty years, judicious economy, integrity, and a determination to make the best goods in the market." It is a most gratifying phenomenon that the Pennsylvania-German wagon, historically known as the "Conestoga wagon," has not stopped in its development, but during the Civil War became the "Studebaker wagon," and, still remaining in the hands of Pennsylvania-Germans, has in the process of evolution changed into a modern automobile.

Inventive genius was also exhibited by the Mohawk Germans; an example of which is found in the career of Webster Wagner, founder of the Wagner Palace Car Company. Born at Palatine Bridge, Montgomery County, New York, in 1817, his ancestors were among the early German settlers of the Mohawk Valley. Under his elder brother he learned the wagon-maker's trade, but fortune was not with him, and at the age of thirty he was a ruined man. He became a ticket-agent and then had charge of a railway station. During this period he devised the plan of a sleeping-car. The idea of a sleeping-berth was suggested to him by the benches in the cabooses on which the railway employees slept. Wagner built four sleeping-cars for the New York Central in 1858. Later he turned

[1] In a letter to the writer, dated June 24, 1909, from J. M. Studebaker, president of the firm, and only survivor of the five brothers. With pride in his origin Mr. Studebaker writes: "Very few emigrated from the old country that equaled the Germans. They were a sturdy, thrifty, intelligent class of people. Above all, they had Christianity and character in them, and built up business strictly on the lines of honesty. We are Pennsylvania-Germans and came from Adams County and Lancaster."

his attention to the drawing-room car, completing his first one in 1867. He was author of numerous other inventions, such as the oval-shaped car, and the elevated panel for ventilation, which is found in every car in the land. He combined executive ability with inventive genius, and made a great fortune for himself and others. He also became very successful and popular in politics, being elected again and again to the state senate (1871 to his death in 1882). He opposed a third term for Grant, was instrumental in the nomination of Garfield, and was appointed to positions of trust, such as the Committee on Banks. His popularity was increased by his generous manner, his hospitality, his characteristic good sense. He never made an attempt to conceal his humble beginnings, but spoke of his youth as the happiest period of his life.[1]

The two most distinguished names in the history of American naval architecture are those of the Cramps and the Herreshoffs. Both of these families are descended from Germans. The paternal ancestor of the Cramps, Johann Georg Krampf, came to America from Baden before William Penn, and settled on the banks of the Delaware. Patriotic sentiment caused the change of the family name from Krampf to Cramp at the time of the Revolution. Similarly, the maternal ancestor's name Reiss became Rice; this family also came from Baden.[2] Shipbuilding ran in the blood of the Cramps from a very early period, as is proved by the fact that Paul Jones, commanding the Russian Black Sea fleet, recorded in his journal in 1788 that the naval architect John Cramp was employed by the Russian Ministry of Marine. The man who has left his

[1] Cf. *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, p. 208.

[2] Information received by letter from Mr. C. H. Cramp, August 25 and 26, 1909.

impress on American shipbuilding in the nineteenth century is Charles Henry Cramp, who began his life-work with the construction of ships of wood and canvas, and then became a leader in the transition to steel and steam. He designed the *New Ironsides* and many coast-defenders during the Civil War, and subsequently became a leading architect of the new navy that did valiant service in the Spanish War. He was a most earnest and persistent advocate of government subsidies in support of the merchant marine, and probably did more than any other one man toward raising the United States merchant marine out of the depths into which it had sunk in consequence of the Civil War.[1]

Charles Frederick Herreshoff, a native of Minden, Prussia, was the ancestor of the naval architects of New England.[2] An accomplished scholar and musician, he married the daughter of John Brown of Providence, one of the founders of Brown University. Their son, Charles Frederick Herreshoff (born in Providence, R. I., in 1809), agriculturist and shipbuilder, bent his energies in the direction of naval architecture. With his sons, all of whom inherited their father's skill and love for naval architecture, he laid the foundation of the Herreshoff Manufacturing Company. John Brown Herreshoff (born in 1841) was the noted "blind boat-builder"; his elder brother, James Brown Herreshoff (born in 1834), made most of the inventions, — the coil-boiler, the fin-keel for sailing-yachts, — which made possible the construction of the fastest steam- and sailing-yachts in the world. He also invented

[1] Cf. A. C. Buell, *The Memoirs of Charles H. Cramp.* (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1906.)

[2] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xii, pp. 352, 353.

the sliding-seats in row-boats, now universally used in racing-shells.

In navigation and shipping the Germans have contributed a large share. We have seen that on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers they were the pioneer skippers,[1] in flat-boats, sail-boats, and finally steamboats. The great promoter Baum, of Cincinnati, opened the first regular service between his city and New Orleans by means of sailing-vessels, Captain Bechtle, formerly a skipper on the Rhine, having the boat in charge, about 1805. As Jacob Yoder (Joder) in 1782 had been the first flat-boat skipper of the Ohio, so the operator of the first steamboat on the Western rivers was Bernard Rosefelt. The first boat was built in 1811, at Pittsburg, and was named after the city of New Orleans, which was its destination. The boat on its first trip encountered an earthquake at the mouth of the Ohio, but survived and reached its port. The captain was Henry Schreeve and his machinist was Becker; both claimed to be Germans. Heinrich Schreeve was also the inventor of a steam saw for cutting snags.[2]

Very important service in the development of American commerce was rendered by the German agents of the German trans-Atlantic lines from Bremen and Hamburg. The agents[3] of the North German Lloyd in New York have

[1] As ferrymen we have seen Germans on the Potomac (Harper's Ferry) and on the Ohio River (Maysville and Covington).

[2] Captain Schreeve (Schriewe), in December, 1814, on arrival at New Orleans, offered his services to General Jackson against the British. The town of Shreveport, Louisiana, was probably named after him. He died in St. Louis, in 1851. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. i and xi. For Jacob Yoder, see also Rosengarten, *German Soldiers in the Wars of the United States*, p. 158.

[3] The first prominent agent in Baltimore of the North German Lloyd was Albert Schumacher (born in Bremen, in 1802); after 1839 he was consul for Bremen and Hamburg, director of several railroads, and at one time president of the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce.

been the Oelrichs; the present general manager of the Hamburg-American Line is Emil Leopold Boas. The regular shipping service established new trades between the United States and Germany. It included exportation of large quantities of tobacco and raw materials of all sorts. Importations of German manufactures increased as a natural consequence. Large importing firms were established at the Atlantic seaports, which were of unquestioned advantage for both countries. Thus a large tobacco trade sprang up, with inland agencies at Cincinnati and Louisville. German shippers and promoters of commerce were quite as prominent on the Pacific as on the Atlantic Coast. The foundation by Claus Spreckels of a regular service between San Francisco, Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand has already been referred to.[1] John D. Spreckels is president of the Oceanic Steamship Company. D. P. Schwerin is vice-president and general manager of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. These two lines own the largest fleets carrying passengers and trade between the American Shore, the Islands of the Pacific, and the Orient.

Rich returns reward the seeker for German influences in the field of industries concerned with the arts. The most cursory view will establish the fact that Germans are predominant as lithographers and manufacturers of musical instruments.

In the art of lithography too much credit cannot be given to Louis Prang, who was both the pioneer and the successful developer of the finest class of color-work in this country.[2] Louis Prang was born at Breslau in 1824, and

[1] See Chapter II, *ante*, p. 70.

[2] This is the opinion of Mr. George K. Henderson, principal of the Winona Technical Institute, Indianapolis, Indiana, the only school of lithography

came to the United States in 1850, a refugee of the revolutionary period. He came well trained in his branch, and settled in Boston, where he started as a wood-engraver, then became a lithographer, color-printer and publisher. He is also a writer on many subjects, the author of the "Prang Method of Art Instruction" and the "Prang Standard of Color." Some of the prominent German lithographers of the country are the Knapp Company (New York), the Goes Company (Chicago), the Gugler Company (Milwaukee), Bien & Company (New York), Hoen & Company (Baltimore), all of whom do high-class work. Of two hundred and forty firms existing in this country ninety per cent are owned by men of German nationality or their native-born sons, and of men employed, seventy per cent are of German birth, fifteen per cent are native-born, and the remainder are Irish, Scotch, French, and English.[1]

One of the most prominent lithographing firms is Bien & Company, of New York City, the head of which is Julius Bien, born in Hesse-Cassel, Germany. He arrived in the United States in 1849, and began business in a small way, filling in his spare time with painting portraits and banners. He soon became a specialist in scientific and artistic lithographing, and has executed a great deal of the most accurate and artistic work demanded by the United States Government. For many years Bien & Company have illustrated the United States Coast Survey Reports, the Pacific Railway Surveys, and the statistical atlases of the United States Census. They have issued the atlas of the "Records of the Rebellion," and Hayden's

in the country. Mr. Henderson is the author of an *American Textbook of Lithography* (Levey Brothers, Indianapolis), which is the outline of the history of the art in the United States.

[1] This is the statement of Mr. G. K. Henderson in a letter to the writer, February 17, 1907.

and Powell's expeditions. Julius Bien was president of the National Lithographers' Association from 1889 to 1895, and his work has received gold and silver medals at all the latter-day world expositions. Another firm that has done expert work for the Government is Hoen & Company, of Baltimore. The Hoens are likewise descended from German ancestors. They were among the first to use color in lithography.[1] Another German name is G. H. Buek & Company of Boston, who in 1891 joined in the formation of the American Lithographic Company of New York, of which Gustav H. Buek is vice-president and general art manager. He was the first to introduce facsimile water-color work into commercial lithography.

F. A. Ringler (born in Hesse-Cassel in 1852) is the inventor of a galvano-plastic process by which pictures and photographs can be reproduced on *clichés* in a few hours. This invention has been of great service to the illustrated newspapers and the illustrated supplements.

It would be too long a task to name the German printers of the United States; suffice it to remind the reader that many of the pioneer printers in the history of the United States, such as Sauer,[2] Miller, and many others in Pennsylvania; Buckner[3] and Henkel, in Virginia; Marschalk, in Mississippi (after the Revolutionary War), were Germans.

One of the most successful inventions of the age, producing a great change in the work of type-setting, is the so-called linotype. It was invented by Ottmar Mergen-

[1] A member of the present firm has informed the writer that his father was the first to print colored posters in his section of the country. The first attempt was made in the execution of an order from Washington, during the Mexican War, — a poster still exhibited by the firm.

[2] See Volume I, Chapter V, pp. 143–145.

[3] Cf. Schuricht, *The German Element in Virginia*, vol. i, p. 73.

thaler, born in Würtemberg in 1854, of German-Jewish extraction. He came to Baltimore in 1872, and was employed by A. Hall & Company, manufacturers of electrical instruments. As the name implies, the linotype produces a line of type, including casting, while the operator touches letter after letter on a key-board. The labor and time saved are of especial importance to the daily papers. The New York "Tribune" was the first (1886) to try the machine in its composing-room. Its success was immediate, and now over seven thousand linotype machines are in daily use.

Being a musical people, the Germans quite naturally have given attention to the manufacture of musical instruments. In the United States they practically control the industry. The pioneer in violin manufacture of the highest standard was Georg Gemünder, born at Ingelfingen, Würtemberg, in 1816. His father was a manufacturer of musical instruments in Germany, and the son was ambitious to advance in the shops of the best masters. With this end in view he journeyed to Munich, Vienna, Pesth, and Pressburg, and finally sought the greatest violin-maker of the time, Vuillaume, in Paris. There he remained for a number of years, learning to distinguish the best Italian and other makes and to imitate them. The pupil soon began to rival his master, and when Ole Bull, on his return in 1845 from a concert tour to America, stopped at Paris to have his violin repaired by Vuillaume, the latter turned over the famous "Caspar da Salo" to his German assistant. Gemünder, several years after, when he had already settled at New York, had the pleasure of seeing the same violin again. Ole Bull was making another concert tour in the United States and appeared one day in Gemünder's shop. Showing him his violin, he chal-

lenged Gemünder to detect the place where it had once been repaired. Gemünder calmly scrutinized the instrument and showed him the spot, though it could never have been detected by any one who had not been told. Bull was surprised, and said the repair had been made by Vuillaume, the greatest violin-maker in the world. Gemünder then told him that the master had given the violin over to his pupil on that occasion.[1]

Gemünder sent several of his violins manufactured in his establishment at New York to the London Exposition of 1851. One was in imitation of Stradivarius, another made according to Amati, and a third according to Guarnerius. "Spohr, Thalberg, Vieuxtemps, and many others examined the violins and were very much surprised at their tone. Spohr observed: 'These are the first new violins that I ever saw, tried, and liked!'" The violins took the first prize. In the Vienna Exposition of 1873 Gemünder gained a wonderful and peculiar success. In competition for a prize to be given for the best imitation, Gemünder prepared his famous "Kaiser" violin. The judges declared this violin to be not a new one but a renewed original: "A genuine Guarnerius not only in regard to its outer appearance and character, but also in the wonderful quality of tone, and ease with which the tones come." Interesting are the stories Gemünder tells of his deceiving the greatest violin-players, allowing them to choose between two violins, one of his own make, a new one, and the other an old Italian. In many cases the violinist chose the new one, but after being told that he had made a mistake, and that

[1] The story of Gemünder's life is told in his autobiography, which reads like that of Benvenuto Cellini, in Goethe's translation. It is entitled *George Gemünder's Progress in Violin-Making, with Interesting Facts Concerning the Art and its Critics in General.* By George Gemünder. Published by the author. (Astoria, N. Y., 1881.)

they were both of the same price, the violinist would prefer the old instrument, yielding to an ancient prejudice against new violins. Gemünder claimed that his violins were exactly the same outwardly (in every detail of form and even varnish), and inwardly (as to tone-quality, "easy speaking," etc.); moreover that his violins possessed one superior feature,—they could be used in large modern concert halls, for which the old violins were too delicate. Gemünder was frequently accused of using chemically prepared woods for his imitations, a charge which he resented, declaring that wood in its natural state produced both power and equality of tone. Through minute study and native skill Gemünder has rediscovered the art of violin-making as it was practiced by the masterful Italian school. His violins have stood the test of time, i. e., since 1847. In the opinion of musical critics the violins manufactured by the firm that he established, Gemünder & Sons, Astoria, (Long Island City), New York, rank with the best in the world.

A high grade of guitars and other string instruments were manufactured in one of the homes of music, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, by the firm of Martin. Other factories of violins, guitars, and mandolins are scattered over the country. As a rule the demand for the piano and organ is very much greater in the United States than for other musical instruments and in consequence the manufacturers of the latter have not the same chance to expand.

In the history of piano manufacture Germans have made the largest number of the great inventions that have denoted progress. The inventions of Pleyel, Erhardt, Pape (who first used felt for the hammers), John Geib, Sr., and others, whether executed in Germany or abroad, reflect credit upon the German name. John Geib, Sr.,

for instance, was one of "twelve apostles" who went from Germany to England in 1760, and founded the piano business there. Broadwood, Stodart, and others acquired their knowledge through him.

The first pianoforte constructed in this country was by John Behrent (a German name), in Philadelphia, in 1775.[1] Charles Albrecht (German) began making pianos in Philadelphia some time before 1789, and continued until 1825. His pianos were copies of models imported from London (manufactured by German Londoners); they were good instruments for the time; one, dated 1789, is preserved in the art rooms of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, another was presented by Mr. Drexel to the New York Museum of Art. John Geib, Jr., on October 3, 1817, took out the second patent ever granted to a resident of New York, for improvements in the "shape and structure of the upright pianoforte." A clever German, Gutwaldt, came to the United States in 1811 and made pianos in Brooklyn, taking out a patent in 1818 for "an improvement in the framework of grands."[2] Another German, Sackmeister, in New York, registered a patent for "downstriking action." In Philadelphia, Conrad Meyer, born in Hesse-Cassel, was a notable figure. In 1833 he exhibited at Franklin Institute a piano with an iron frame. At the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876 he was declared the inventor of the solid iron plate frame now in general use in grands, squares, and uprights. Priority in this great invention is claimed for Alphonse Babcock, who is said to have taken out a patent which laid the foundation of metal plate casting in 1825. The credit of having made

[1] Cf. D. Spillane, *History of the American Pianoforte: its Technical Development and Trade*, p. 105, etc. (1890.)

[2] Spillane, p. 107.

the first frame of this kind, however, belongs to Meyer, since Babcock did not produce practical results until later. When he removed to Boston, his idea was taken up by Jonas Chickering, the great pioneer in New England, who had founded his piano factory in 1823.[1] Chickering took out patents in 1840, making improvements in Babcock's invention. The iron frame was a great step in advance; it kept the instrument in better tune, one great defect being, however, the thin nasal character of the tone. To remedy this defect and bring about certain final important improvements was the work of a German, Henry Steinway. Some of Steinway's great patents were: the Steinway method of "agraffe" adjustment, by which a more perfect "bearing" against the upward concussion of the hammers was provided; "overstringing" in grands, in conjunction with a plate model; alteration in "scaling" and stringing; also the third pedal, holding single tones without affecting the others. With these successive advancing steps, the modern piano, barring numerous minor improvements, has reached its present state of perfection.

Henry Steinway (originally Steinweg) was born in 1797 in the Duchy of Brunswick. While still a young man he learned the cabinet-maker's trade, fashioned zithers and guitars, and in Goslar learned how to build organs and pianos. In 1825 he established a piano factory of his own in Brunswick, but the narrow guild system prevailed, his family was large, and he turned to seek a fairer prospect of fortune. His eldest son Theodore remained to take charge of the factory left behind. Arriving in New York, the father and his four sons first served an apprenticeship. In 1853 they began in a small way, making one piano a

[1] Chickering was one of the few great piano manufacturers not of German blood.

week in the factory which they set up. The product of their labors met with unusual favor, and their skill and energy soon did the rest. Their constant improvements in their pianos brought them to a standard which probably has never been reached by any other factory in the United States. The Steinway piano at the present day is the acknowledged concert leader. Other factories that were now and then rivals for the highest honors have frequently since then lowered their standard to satisfy the popular demand for a cheaper piano. In spite of high standards and in virtue of them, Steinway & Sons have also been enormously successful from the commercial point of view. As early as 1859 Henry Steinway built a factory, at that time considered colossal, which gave employment to eight hundred workmen and completed sixty pianos a week. In 1866 he built a concert hall, with an auditorium seating twenty-five hundred people, and lived to see the erection of a plant at Astoria, Long Island, containing a sawmill, foundry with a water front, and a series of well-constructed lodging-houses for workmen. He died in 1871, but the institution which he had founded was carried on to greater success by his sons. Charles Herman Steinway is the president and director of Steinway & Sons at the present day.

The names of some of the large German piano manufacturers will show how the Germans predominate in this industry. In New York, besides Steinway & Sons, there are: William Lindemann & Sons (founded in 1840, William Lindemann being one of the pioneers of piano manufacture, earlier than Steinway, and preceded in New York only by Gutwaldt and Sackmeister); the Weber Piano Company[1] (founded in 1852 by Albert Weber, native of

[1] This firm was the first to establish a branch in Chicago (1880).

Bavaria); George Steck & Company (founded in 1857 by George Steck, native of Hesse-Cassel); Behning & Son (1861, founder, native of Hanover); Kranich & Bach (1864, both partners born in Germany); Marschall & Mittauer (1867, both born in Germany); Sohmer & Company (1872, founder, Hugo Sohmer, born in the Black Forest); Behr Brothers & Company (1875, Henry Behr, native of Hamburg); Schnabel, Lambert & Company (1878); Kraukauer Brothers (1878); Henry Kroeger & Sons (1879); Mehlin & Sons (more recent). Baltimore contains one of the leading piano factories, William Knabe & Company. The founder, William Knabe, born in 1803, in Sachsen-Weimar, established the factory in 1839 (then Knabe & Gaehle). The firm have since then taken out many valuable patents, and have stood in the front rank with Steinway and Chickering; Von Bülow and D'Albert have used the Knabe piano on their concert tours. In 1879 the Japanese Government ordered a large number of their instruments. In Philadelphia there are many firms, among them Schomaker & Company (the founder born in Germany in 1800); the successor of the pioneer C. F. Albrecht is the popular firm of Blasius & Company. This list is by no means a complete one. In the manufacture of supplies for piano-makers the firm of Strauch Brothers (the founder born at Frankfurt-on-the-Main) leads; the Alfred Dolge Manufacturing Company, mentioned before, supplies the finest quality of felt.

A large number of German firms appear among the organ manufacturers of the country, e. g., the Ann Arbor Manufacturing Company (Fred Schmid, president); the Barckhoff Church Organ Company (Pomeroy, Ohio); Lehr (Easton, Pennsylvania); Æolian Company, controlled by the Weber Piano and Pianola Company; Blamburg (Balti-

more); Eifert & Stoehr (Astoria, Long Island); Felgemaker Organ Company (Erie, Pennsylvania); Foerster & Sons (Milwaukee); J. P. Fuchs (New York); E. Giesecke (Evansville, Indiana); E. Grimm (Cincinnati); Pfeffer & Company (St. Louis); Schulz Company (Chicago); Seybold Reed Pipe Organ Company (Elgin, Illinois), who advertise that their output is fifteen organs a day; Wirsching Organ Company (Salem, Ohio); Wilhelm's Sons (Oakland, California); in the manufacturing department of the Estey Organ Company, Carl Brambach has been the leading man.[1] The presence of Germans as assistants and workmen in all factories in which musical instruments are made, whether conducted by Germans or otherwise, is also a notable feature.

German activity in a great variety of other industrial fields must necessarily receive scant attention in these pages, however worthy of fuller treatment. For instance, the writer learns on good authority that seventy per cent of the hardware business in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, is in German hands. Similarly the large rubber business of Akron, Ohio, is in the hands of the Germans, Seiberling, Swinehart, Metz, and Miller. Some of the best builders have been Germans, among firms still existing, e. g., Eidlitz & Son,[2] who have built many private and public buildings in and about New York City and elsewhere; also Henry Smith & Son (founder was born in Germany, anglicizing his name on coming to America), in Baltimore, who built the Maryland Club, the new Custom-House, Rennert's Hotel, and many of the most substantial warehouses and private buildings.

[1] Cf. Spillane, p. 284.

[2] Otto M. Eidlitz was appointed Tenement House Commissioner by President Roosevelt in 1900; was appointed commissioner in 1905 to examine causes of collapse of buildings in New York, and report on the same.

The Eberhard-Faber Pencil Company, in Brooklyn, is an offshoot of the great German pencil factory of Faber.[1] Names even more familiar in America are Welsbach and Pintsch, who have in the literal sense shed so much light upon us in our homes and on our travels. In lighting and gas engineering, Germans at home and in this country have been leaders.

Toys are imported in great quantities from Germany. Dolls with jointed limbs, from Sonneberg, musical toys from Nuremberg, ornaments for the Christmas trees from Saxony, Noah's arks from the Black Forest, have delighted us all without our being aware of their origin.

Two of the most prominent members of the American Tobacco Company are the German firms located in Baltimore, Gail and Ax, and Marburg Brothers, the latter so commonly known for their mixtures of smoking-tobacco (Yale, Lafayette Mixture, Marburg's Pickings, etc.). F. A. W. Kieckhefer (born in Milwaukee) is in charge of the largest tinware and enameled ware factory in the world;[2] Hermann H. Kohlsaat (born in Illinois) does a large wholesale bakery business and owns a number of bakery and lunch establishments;[3] S. E. Gross (born in Pennsylvania), a large real-estate operator in Chicago, built twenty-one suburban farms, sold forty thousand lots, and ten thousand houses.[4]

A number of department stores have been established

[1] They own a cedar yard and mill at Cedar Keys, Florida, and a rubber factory at Newark, New Jersey.

[2] *Who's Who in America*, 1906–1907, p. 998.

[3] He was also part owner of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 1891–1893, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Times-Herald*, which was amalgamated with the *Chicago Record*, becoming the *Record-Herald*; interested also in the *Chicago Evening Post*, and a large contributor to charities.

[4] *Who's Who in America*, 1906–1907, p. 733.

by men born in Germany or men of German descent. The most famous of all in the United States are those of John Wanamaker, in Philadelphia (established in 1876) and New York (established in 1896). John Wanamaker[1] is a Pennsylvania-German, and has frequently in public expressed his pride in his descent. Of men born in Germany who are in the department store business, some of the most widely known are those of Jewish-German descent, e. g., Stern Brothers, of New York City, Louis Stern having been born in Germany in 1847, and Henry Siegel, of Siegel, Cooper & Company, born in Germany, in 1852.

If a list were to be made of the captains of industry in the United States, a large number of the names found in the preceding pages would have to be included. Such are Claus Spreckels, monarch of sugar; Henry Miller, of cattle; Frederick Weyerhäuser, of lumber; and George C. Boldt, of hotels.[2] There would be included Charles H. Cramp, the shipbuilder; Henry C. Frick, the ruler of the coke industry; Röbling, master in wire-cable manufacture. The names of Schieren, Herrmann, Niedringhaus, Kieckhefer, Studebaker, Brill, Wagner, Wanamaker, Oelrichs, Boas, Busch, Uihlein, Pabst, Gunther, and a host of others would find a worthy place.

Summing up the contents of this chapter, we have found that the thesis can be maintained that in all those industries requiring technical skill and special training, the German element has been very prominent in the United States, in some branches holding a monopoly.

[1] Mr. John Wanamaker was United States Postmaster-General from 1889 to 1893, and reduced the expenses of the department so considerably as to decrease the cost of postage to the public.

[2] Cf. Casson, *The Germans in America*, p. 702.

This was due in large measure to the fact that the technical schools of Germany had reached a high grade of usefulness long before institutions of a similar kind existed in the United States. But even after that the German element trained in this country remained prominent in the same branches, showing a bias of the German mind in this direction. As bridge-builders, electrical, civil, and mining engineers, the Germans have not only done a very large part of the work demanded by modern transportation and manufactures in the United States, but their inventive genius has made noble and lasting contributions to the sum of human achievement. They have also predominated in the manufacture of scientific apparatus and of musical instruments. They established the art of lithography, and were well represented as printers. Prominent was their share in the chemical industries, and the manufacture of glass, iron, and steel. In navigation and shipping they directed attention to foreign ports, and their names are numerous and distinguished on the rolls of the captains of industry in varied fields of activity.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Popular impression concerning the Germans in politics — Their position defined — Their support of the Constitution of the United States — Germans active in the political issues of the nineteenth century: (1) The question of slavery; German leaders induce German voters to join the Republican Party; Carl Schurz; the Chicago Convention; the Germans of the Border States — (2) The question of the Civil Service; Carl Schurz as Secretary of the Interior institutes civil service reform — (3) Sound money — (4) Party reform — (5) Peace congresses; Holls, Bartholdt — (6) Personal liberty; resolutions on temperance and Sunday observance by the National German-American Alliance — The German language in the public schools, etc. — (7) Independent voting; Benjamin Franklin's nativism and testimony; Jacob Leisler an independent in politics; municipal government; Carl Schurz the "original independent" — Several types of German politicians described: Carl Schurz, Francis Lieber, Samuel W. Pennypacker, William Bouck, Philipp Dorscheimer, Michael Hahn — German governors and congressmen — Others in public life — Conventions of the German revolutionists — Socialism in the United States — The Socialist-Labor and the Socialist Party — The National German-American Alliance.

The common impression concerning the Germans in American politics is that their influence has not been commensurate with their numbers. The question has never been thoroughly studied, but it is more than probable that after a searching investigation has been made, the general opinion will be shown to be in error. Within the limits of this chapter it is possible only to suggest the lines on which such an investigation can be made.

The unfavorable impression may be due in part to the fact that from the beginning of their history the Germans have not been eager to hold public offices. The settlers of Germantown were embarrassed by the frequent resigna-

tions of the men of their choice, and imposed a fine of three pounds upon any one who should refuse to serve after election to public office. Mennonites and some other sectarians successfully pleaded a conflict with their religion, but others were not excused without showing good cause. Thus it was placed on record that Paul Wulff, elected to the position of town clerk on December 1, 1694, was fined three pounds for declining the office without good cause.[1] Paul Castner (Kästner) was elected to succeed him, but found it impossible to accept for reasons of conscience, and Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of the colony, was compelled to step into the breach. These items of history illustrate two facts, — first, that the Germans felt public office to be more a burden than a distinction, and secondly, that an undercurrent of public spirit prevailed among them which created a law calculated to impress the principle that public service when demanded was a moral duty. This was unmistakably the attitude of Franz Daniel Pastorius, the first office-holder and public servant in a typically German colony.[2] Repeatedly desiring to lay down the burdens of public affairs, he was just as often forced to take them up again by a sense of duty.

The Germans did not enter politics for a livelihood. They came as farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, merchants,

[1] See records of the court, *German-American Annals*, N. S., vol. VI, number 1, p. 10. Cf. also Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der deutsch-pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, p. 54. Pastorius, in a letter to William Penn in 1703, renewed his complaint of the difficulty of finding persons willing to accept public office, and expressed the hope that the situation might become improved by the arrival of more immigrants.

[2] For Pastorius' career see Volume I, Chapter II. Peter Minuit antedated Pastorius as the first German prominent in colonial politics (1624–1641), and made a brilliant record as governor of New Netherland, purchaser of the island of Manhattan, and founder of New Sweden. Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 10–13.

or professional men, and applied themselves diligently to their particular trades with a determination to succeed in them. Their strongly developed practical sense showed them that the professional politician, immediately ousted from office when his party was defeated, was engaged in a very unsafe and unprofitable business, while their plain honesty and a tender conscience compelled them to look upon politics as something unclean and corrupting. It were a fallacy, however, to say that because the Germans have not held many political offices they have had little influence on American politics. Selfish office-holders and aggressive political manipulators do not control the settlement of great political questions, nor do they advance government or civil service toward a higher ideal. Real influence is a different matter from the ins and outs of the political game; and while the German element has not been conspicuous in the latter, the attempt will be made in the succeeding pages to show that the Germans were always at hand when the time came to improve and transform politics.

The first step in coöperative self-government by the American colonies was taken at the instance of Jacob Leisler,[1] a German, who in 1690 called together the first congress on American soil. Leisler, elected governor by the popular party of New York, saw his colony threatened with invasion by the French and Indians. Assistance from England, then in the toils of the Revolution, seeming too remote, Leisler instituted self-help, and invited the governors of Massachusetts, Plymouth, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to a common council at New York. A meeting took place May 1, 1690, a memorable event in American history, being the first congress of the American colonies, the progenitor of

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 13–26.

the Continental Congress and that of the United States. Concerted measures for defense were undertaken, and the first aggressive movement against Canada was planned by this Congress of 1690.[1]

The political institution of which America is most proud, extending influence far beyond her own borders, is the Constitution of the United States, and the republican form of government therein constructed. That great work was not German, but the result of long parliamentary training, inherited from England, with perhaps an inspiration coming from the French philosophy of the eighteenth century. Among the framers of the Constitution of 1787 there were but few who had German blood in their veins. There was Gouverneur Morris, of New York, who was one of the committee on drafting the Constitution. He was a lineal descendant of Jacob Leisler through two of the latter's daughters.[2] Another member of the Convention of 1787 was General Frederick Frelinghuysen, grandson of the Reverend Theodor J. Frelinghuysen, born within the present borders of Prussia.[3] Many men of German descent aided in the adoption of the Constitution after it was framed; such were John Peter Mühlenberg, vice-president of the state of Pennsylvania in 1785 (Benjamin Franklin being president), and representative in Congress, 1789–1791, etc., and particularly his brother, Frederick August Mühlenberg, speaker of the Pennsylvania state legislature, member of the first four sessions

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 20–21.

[2] Mary Leisler, the daughter of the German governor of New York, widow of Milborne, married the Huguenot Abraham Gouverneur. Mary's son, Nicholas Gouverneur, married his cousin Gertrude Rynders, the daughter of Hester Leisler. The son of this marriage, Isaac Gouverneur, was the grandfather of Gouverneur Morris. Cf. Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, vol. ii, p. 187.

[3] Cf. Volume I, pp. 153–154.

of the United States Congress and Speaker of the House in the First and Third United States Congresses. If the Germans did not frame the Constitution, they were its defenders by word and action, and throughout the nineteenth century furnished the largest quota of soldiers contributed by any one national element in support of the government it created.[1]

During the nineteenth century, in all the most important issues that made for political betterment in the United States the Germans played a leading part. Such were (1) the question of slavery; (2) civil service; (3) sound money; (4) party reform; (5) temperance and personal liberty; (6) independent voting. These questions will be considered briefly in the succeeding paragraphs.

The question of slavery

Before 1850 the great mass of Germans for good reasons were Jacksonian Democrats. In the first place, the party carried on the traditions of the Jeffersonian Democracy, declaring all men (white) free and equal, and making no distinction as to foreigners. Liberty in the abstract was the sentiment also of the Whigs, but it meant liberty for the native in preference to liberty for the foreign population. There was a strong nativistic element in the party, which subsequently caused the formation of a new political organization, the American or Know-nothing Party.[2] In

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter XVI, "The German Element in the Wars of the United States during the Nineteenth Century." For the Germans as patriots and soldiers in the War of the Revolution, see Volume I, Chapter XI.

[2] About 1852 a secret, oathbound fraternity, with numerous lodges and with conventions which made nominations secretly, attained sudden importance. From the professions of ignorance with which its members met all questioning, they were called "Know-nothings." In 1854, the "Know-nothings" carried Massachusetts and Delaware; in 1855 most of New England,

the second place, the two parties represented class distinctions. The Whigs were rich, the Democrats poor; the former were more largely merchants, planters, bankers, land speculators, aristocrats; the latter more commonly tradesmen, artisans, laborers, and immigrants, who naturally had to begin at the bottom. The principle of states' rights, which was a part of the platform of the Democrats, did not appeal to the intelligent German, who had seen the evils of particularism at home, but the great body of German immigrants did not understand the question, nor did they bother about it until it became a leading issue that forced itself upon them.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill[1] began to make the people who were not guided by selfish interests ponder deeply concerning another question even more important to the foreigner than states' rights, — the human question of slavery. The Irish remained true to the Demo-

New York, Maryland, Kentucky, and California, and polled a large vote in the South, mainly from former Whigs. Their platform demanded more severe naturalization laws and the selection of none but natives for office. In the national convention in Philadelphia, in 1856, they nominated ex-President Fillmore for the presidency. The slavery issue thrust the party aside, however, and in 1856 it polled but eight electoral votes, those of Maryland. Cf. *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference*, vol. i, p. 37. The Know-nothing Party contained a large lawless element given to rioting and obstructing foreigners at the polls or on any other occasion. Cf. Hennighausen, *Reminiscences of the Political Life of the German-Americans in Baltimore during the years 1850–1860*, Seventh, Eleventh, and Twelfth Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Cf. also Schmeckebier, *The Know-nothings in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies (1899), and L. D. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State.* (New York, 1901 — Columbia University Dissertation.)

[1] The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed in 1854, and allowed the two new territories to settle the question of slavery for themselves. Nebraska was a free territory, and Kansas should have been, in accordance with the Missouri Compromise. By this new law the Missouri Compromise was expressly repealed. The historical struggle by both parties for the possession of Kansas followed.

cratic flag, and were more devoted than ever, misled by the idea of squatter sovereignty, which to them meant almost that every one might do what he wished. "The Germans, on the other hand," says Von Holst,[1] "had never been able to clearly perceive why the fundamental principles of natural law, Christianity, and democratic republicanism should be changed into their contraries when there was question of applying them in the case of men whose skin was black and hair was woolly. . . . They had no sympathy for the negro and therefore it cost them no effort to accommodate themselves to existing circumstances. They had as a rule not come into direct contact with slavery and were preoccupied with their own affairs. . . . But now a new law was to be established and they shared in its moral responsibilities. For the first time they were to take a stand on the question of slavery. The country was theirs and their children's. They understood the terrible seriousness of the matter, and entered firmly into the struggle as men of independent will and independent thought. They felt themselves Americans and not citizens of this or that individual state. The arguments of state sovereignty made no impression on them. . . . They inquired simply, 'Is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the interest of the Union? All the talk as to whether the Missouri Compromise was a 'compact' and as to who made it, seemed to them idle. The fact that it [the Missouri Compromise] had been looked upon as a law [since 1820] for more than a generation as inviolable, stamped the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as an outrageous breach of faith, against which the German conscience of right and German rectitude rebelled. Considering their tendency toward political doctrinairism, squatter sovereignty would perhaps have had a certain

[1] Von Holst, *Constitutional History of the United States*, vol. iv, p. 426.

charm for them, if it had not been invented solely for the purpose of admitting slavery by a back door. To the native American the question [of states' rights] was complicated — to the German (without the historical background), the question was politically and morally so simple that it could not be recognized as a question at all. . . . The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, devised to extend negro slavery, proved wonderfully effective for the political emancipation of the German-Americans. They everywhere began to act independently and to withdraw from the camp in which it was desired to make Southern principles an absolute party obligation for Northern men."

It should be remembered also that the first protest ever made in the United States against negro slavery came from the Germans in their original settlement. On April 18, 1688, a meeting was held by the German Quakers of Germantown protesting against the buying and keeping of negro slaves, and a formal document in the handwriting of Pastorius was submitted to the monthly gathering of the Quakers, April 30, and brought before the annual meeting of that religious organization in the same year.[1] Similarly, the Salzburgers of Georgia, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, made determined efforts to prevent the introduction of slaves into their settlement. The ministers and trustees of the colony held out for a long time against the prevailing sentiment of the entire province, and finally submitted the question to the arbitration and decision of the fathers of their church in Europe.[2]

Von Holst tells us that according to a list drawn up by the Cincinnati "Gazette" there were in 1854 eighty German newspapers against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill,

[1] Cf. Vol. I, Chap. II, pp. 45–46. [2] Cf. Vol. I, Chap. IX, pp. 242–243.

and only eight in favor of it. The American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society (New York) made resolutions rejoicing in the unanimity of the German press against the Nebraska Bill, so inimical to their "democratic principles" and the renown of their adopted country.

The number of the Germans had grown great, sufficient to make their influence felt at the ballot-box. Politicians recognized the fact, and tried to wheedle the German voters as their own interests demanded. But there had been a large immigration of very intelligent Germans since 1848, who themselves were capable of acting as leaders unto their people. The petty newspaper controversies between the Greens and Grays[1] ceased under the pressure of the great responsibility imposed by the slavery question. Resentment and moral indignation on the part of the Germans followed the attempts made by demagogues, to capture the German vote for the slave interests. However, for some time leaders and voters were disturbed as to the choice of the party that would represent their position on the great issues. The Whigs were making overtures to them, and some good men joined that party. A number of the German radicals began to form an independent party (*Der Bund Freier Männer*), organizing in Louisville, and spreading through most of the Western States in 1853. The platform adopted was similar to that of the Wheeling Convention of 1852,[2] except that greater prominence was given the opposition to slavery.[3] But the

[1] The Grays were the German immigrants of the early nineteenth century, including political refugees of 1817–1820 and 1830–1835. The Greens were the refugees of 1848 and thereafter. See Volume I, pp. 587–590.

[2] See below, under the head "Conventions of the German Revolutionists," near the end of this chapter.

[3] Cf. E. Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States during*

Germans were destined soon to find their place. It was with the new Republican Party, at first known as the Anti-Nebraska men, who held their first convention in 1856, at Philadelphia, nominating Frémont. The "Forty-eighters" pulled hardest in the direction of the Republican Party, and gradually drew the larger part of the German vote to their side. The Democratic German newspapers, being older, and therefore financially better situated, for some time held on, but they were often embarrassed to find editors.[1] There was a good reason why many Germans were cautious about joining the Republican Party. Many of the recruits of the new organization were drawn from the "Know-nothings," and many of the speeches gave utterance to decidedly nativistic tendencies. Again the Puritanic element in the new party was radical on questions important to the Germans, — personal liberty, temperance, and Sunday observance. All the more honor, therefore, belongs to the German element for overlooking these drawbacks and making an unselfish effort to advance the interests of humanity, i. e., to banish slavery from the country. They forgot their own personal discomforts or dislikes and gave strength to the idealistic movement. Prominent among the leaders were Georg Schneider, editor of the Illinois "Staats-Zeitung," Gustav Körner, lieutenant-governor of Illinois, 1852–1856; F. A. Hoffmann, lieutenant-governor of Illinois, 1860–1864; Friedrich Münch, Franz Sigel, Arnold Krekel, E. Praetorius, and others in Missouri; F. Hassaurek[2] and C. G. Ruemelin of

the Period from 1815–1860, p. 44. (1904.) Also Bruncken, *The Political Activity of Wisconsin Germans, 1854–1860*. (Madison, 1901.)

[1] Cf. Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States*, p. 46, who quotes Esselen, a contemporary German editor.

[2] Friedrich Hassaurek was a brilliant and fearless speaker in the interests

Ohio; Friedrich Kapp of New York, and many others. In Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin, where it was understood the Republicans could not carry the state without the German vote, resolutions were passed by local conventions shielding the foreign element against nativism. In many other states, where the German vote, if not as large, might still hold the balance of power, the questions concerning foreigners were discreetly hushed. During the presidential campaign of 1856, the "Forty-eighters" were active all over the country in their support of Frémont. Friedrich Hecker, the military chief of the Baden insurrection in 1849, was a candidate with Abraham Lincoln on the Republican electoral ticket in Illinois, and went on the stump in his own and other states. He spoke at a meeting in Philadelphia, together with Reinhold Solger of Boston, and at the Academy of Music in New York with Friedrich Münch and Gustav Struve where Julius Froebel[1] presided. Körner, Kapp, and Hassaurek were very prominent Republican speakers in this campaign.[2] All of these men were political refugees from Germany. Greatest and most influential of them all, however, was a younger

of the Republican Party. In Kentucky, to gain a hearing, he appealed to the hospitality of the people; in Dayton, Ohio, he threatened to stay a month and try night after night until given a chance to speak. At another time, being abused and pelted with stones and missiles of all kinds, he laid down a revolver, and threatened to shoot any one that advanced upon him. Having thus intimidated the rough element, he was permitted to speak. When Lincoln had appointed Hassaurek resident minister to Ecuador, he went to thank the President, "for appointing him to the highest position the administration had the power to give." (The capital city, Quito, is between nine and ten thousand feet above sea-level.) Lincoln enjoyed the joke, and repeated it to his cabinet and friends.

[1] Nephew of Friedrich Froebel founder of the Kindergarten. He was distinguished as a man-of-letters and politician of republican principles in the revolutionary periods of 1830 and 1848.

[2] Cf. Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States*, p. 52.

man, destined soon to become conspicuous in the affairs of the nation, Carl Schurz, who was now putting his shoulder to the wheel in the interest of the Republican Party in the state of Wisconsin. "The old cause of human freedom," says Carl Schurz in his autobiography,[1] "was to be fought for on the soil of the new world. The great final decision seemed to be impending." The defeat of Frémont was a stunning blow to Carl Schurz. It reminded him of the breakdown of the great movement for popular government in Europe in 1848. "Was the democratic principle to collapse in America too? It took me some time to recover and recognize the fact that this was only the first battle in a long campaign, a campaign of many years."

Even in Wisconsin events proved that the German vote was merely tolerated by the Republican Party as a case of necessity, the Know-nothing spirit being still very strong. Carl Schurz was nominated by the Republicans in 1857

[1] *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, vol. ii, pp. 67–69. (The McClure Company, New York, 1907.) Carl Schurz describes his first speech (1856) as follows: "I was eager to take part in the contest. But at the same time, a feeling came upon me that I was still sadly incompetent for the task. I was surprised by a visit of Mr. Harvey, subsequently governor of Wisconsin, who asked me whether I would make a little speech in German at a mass meeting. No! I could not think of it, for I was not prepared. Would I not then at least come and hear him speak at the meeting. There was a large crowd, and Mr. Harvey spoke with uncommon eloquence. After the applause the chairman of the meeting coolly arose and said, 'I have now the great pleasure of introducing Mr. Carl Schurz of Watertown, who has fought for human liberty in his native country, and who has come to us to do the same in his adopted home. He will address his fellow citizens of German birth in their native language.'" Schurz continues, "I stammered a few initial words about the unexpected honor, and then for half an hour or more I blurted out what happened to come into my mind about the slavery question. After the first sentences the words came easily and my hearers seemed well pleased. This was my first political speech in America. Invitations to address meetings poured in upon me from all sides."

for lieutenant-governor. When the votes were counted, it appeared that Schurz was defeated by 107 votes, while the Republican candidate for governor, Randall, had been elected by 454 votes. All the rest of the Republican candidates were likewise successful. It was clear that a large number of the Republicans had refused to vote for their German candidate. The Democrats were not slow in pointing out this fact, attempting to effect a bolt from the Republican Party. But it redounds to the glory of the German Republicans that they stuck to their colors in spite of the defeat of their candidate. An attempt was made to nominate Schurz for governor in the election of 1859, but Randall won, receiving a renomination. Schurz was tendered the nomination for lieutenant-governor, but he declined to run for the office a second time. In the Chicago convention which nominated Lincoln, the leaders of the Germans had been chosen as delegates, Münch and Krekel of Missouri; Körner and Georg Schneider of Illinois; Hassaurek of Ohio, and Schurz of Wisconsin. The latter had had some trouble in being elected a delegate because of Whig opposition, but when that was withdrawn, he was made the chairman of the state delegation. The Germans in the convention were in favor of William Henry Seward for President. Seward's presence, broad culture, and intellectual leadership in the anti-slavery agitation, his Eastern manner, and his opposition to Know-nothingism, made him appear as the natural nominee, and many of the Germans at the time regretted that a less known, though promising candidate should be the convention's choice.[1] When their favorite was defeated, the

[1] In his reminiscences Carl Schurz expresses this view, but also his disappointment at the politicians who surrounded Seward, and concludes that, in the light of succeeding events, the interests of the party and nation were best served with Lincoln at the head of the ticket.

Germans felt no resentment, but entered the campaign with a will, and Carl Schurz was one of the delegation appointed to notify Lincoln of his nomination.

Carl Schurz's fame had by this time spread beyond the limits of his adopted state. He now commanded both languages with equal facility. His fluency, brilliancy, and effectiveness had been felt as early as 1858, when he was one of the speakers in Illinois during the great Lincoln-Douglas campaign, and in 1859, when he entered the stronghold of nativism, and delivered a speech at Boston in the historic Faneuil Hall. In Lincoln's campaign of 1860, he was easily one of the most prominent orators of the Republican Party.

Andrew D. White, when ambassador of the United States at Berlin, was questioned by the Iron Chancellor as to the cause of the rapid success of Carl Schurz, in spite of the handicap of his foreign birth. The answer was: "Before the Lincoln presidential campaign, in which Schurz took so large a part, slavery was always discussed either from a constitutional or philanthropic point of view, orators seeking to show either that it was at variance with the fundamental principles of our government or an offense against humanity; but Schurz discussed it in a new way and mainly from the philosophic point of view, showing not merely its hostility to the American ideas of liberty and the wrong it did to the slaves, but, more especially, the injury it wrought upon the country at large, and, above all, upon the Slave States themselves; and in treating all public questions he was philosophic, eloquent, and evidently sincere." Bismarck listened and answered: "As a German I am proud of Carl Schurz." [1]

[1] *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. i, p. 586. (The Century Company, New York, 1905.) The father of Andrew D. White, typical of the

The prompt and patriotic service of the Germans in the Border States — Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland — is likewise worthy of the highest recognition. The United States Arsenal in St. Louis was rescued and held by the German organized militia and the Turners. Their preparedness and eagerness to enter the conflict saved Missouri for the Union.[1] The existence and the struggles of the only Republican newspaper in Maryland have nowhere been adequately chronicled. This was the German paper called "Der Wecker," which, true to its name, boldly rang out its alarms, and awakened the minds of its readers. The founder was Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, the "Tyrtæus" of the revolution in Baden, who dedicated his poetic "funeral wreaths" (*Totenkränze*) to the lost cause from his retreat in Geneva. Requested to leave Switzerland, he came to America in 1851, and with rare ability conducted his paper until his death in 1854. Schnauffer's successors were his companions at arms in the revolution, Franz Sigel and subsequently Wilhelm Rapp (destined to become the Nestor of American journalists), who brought the "Wecker" to a high standard before they departed for the West. Baltimore, then opprobriously called "mob town," and a veritable hot-bed of Know-nothingism, was not at that time a fitting soil for the reception of the new Republican Party's sentiments. The rowdies of the town made an attempt to demolish the press of the "Wecker," but they were thwarted by the wife of Heinrich Schnauf-

thinking patriotic American of that period, on his death-bed followed the campaign literature on the subject of slavery, which his son read to him: "Of all the speeches he liked best those of this new orator [Carl Schurz]; he preferred them indeed to those of his idol Seward." "His arguments seemed to me [A. D. White] by far the best of the whole campaign — the broadest, deepest, and most convincing." *Autobiography*, vol. i, pp. 86–87.

[1] For an account in detail, see Volume I, Chapter XVI, pp. 531–536.

fer, who stood on the threshold of the newspaper establishment with her babe in her arms and defied the mob. The Germans on both sides of the Ohio River also stood firmly by the Union, as has been recorded in the pages of the Cincinnati historical publication, "Der deutsche Pionier." The achievement of the Germans in this great crisis was that they, holding the balance of power, threw their entire weight into the scale of justice, humanity, and national union.

Civil service

The spoils system, which had been inaugurated by the Jacksonian Democracy, grew to be ever more injurious after the Civil War, with the growth of taxation and the increase of federal offices. A commission was appointed by President Grant in 1871, of which George William Curtis was chairman, to inquire into the matter of civil service. The result was the trial of a plan suggested by the commission, and a selection of men after competitive examination, in 1872. But the pressure from politicians personally interested in the maintenance of the old system was too great, and the experiment was abandoned in 1875. It was then that Carl Schurz stood out so strongly as the champion of civil service reform, and became a severe critic of Grant's administration. Schurz supported Hayes in his close campaign against Tilden, and there was an impression abroad that he had received positive pledges from the presidential candidate that civil service reform would be carried out in good faith. He was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Hayes. He was confirmed on March 11, 1877, and immediately applied the methods of civil service reform in his department. Before the week had expired, the clerks were assured that no removals

would be made except for cause; that if the force at any time were to be reduced, the least competent should be removed; that no promotions would be made except for merit; and that, as there were no vacancies, no recommendations to office could be entertained. This was not empty declamation, for Schurz did not even bring a new private secretary with him. Shortly after, he established a board of inquiry, composed of three clerks of the highest class, who were to investigate and determine upon questions connected with appointments, removals, and promotions. In our own day Schurz's course sounds like the only natural and sane one, but this was actually the first time that such a method had been employed in the history of our country. Grover Cleveland made the next great and even more difficult step in civil service reform, when, as President of the United States, elected by the Democratic Party, which had not been in office for more than a quarter of a century, he refused to expel worthy Republicans, and would not satisfy the importunate demands of his party for office. While Carl Schurz, as a member of the cabinet, led in the application of civil service reform, the German voter gave unmistakable evidence of his view of the case at the ballot-box. The overwhelming defeat sustained by the Republican Party in the states of Pennsylvania, New York, and elsewhere in 1882 was construed as an emphatic condemnation of the spoils system, and the German vote was undoubtedly a strong element in the movement. The constant changes in federal positions — appointments not dependent on merit, nor discharges upon the quality of service — had caused the Germans to look upon American politics as something to be shunned. In the Fatherland, they had been accustomed to a class of civil servants who, though sometimes overbearing, were

honest and faithful to the core, and who held their offices securely during good behavior.

Sound money

A statesman and thorough student of American politics has said: "History will record it as a pregnant fact that the vast mass of Germans have been on the right side of the financial questions which in recent years have so agitated this country. Whether they have called themselves Republicans or Democrats, they have been almost to a man opposed to all wild fiscal experiments, to all financial tricks and efforts to outwit the eternal laws of nature, to the 'greenback craze,' to the 'silver craze,' and to all those outbursts of unreason which for a time have seemed to threaten the future of this country."[1]

The Sound Money League of Pennsylvania contained among its members and leading spirits many men of German blood, such as Michael D. Harter and Theodore C. Knauff, author of "The Silver Question in a Nutshell," "The Dissatisfied Farmer," etc., published by the society. The Reform Club of New York City, founded in 1888, had among its earliest members Carl Schurz, Oswald Ottendorfer, Henry Villard, Jackson S. Schultz, William N. Kremer, and Hermann A. Metz (Democrat, elected comptroller of the city of New York, appointed by Governor Hughes a member of the charter revision commission). Since 1889 the treasurer of the Reform Club has been Louis Windmüller, born in Westphalia, in 1835. He came to America in 1853, has been a very successful merchant and banker in New York City, and indefatigable in his

[1] Quotation from a speech of Andrew D. White, ambassador to the German Empire, at a farewell banquet given by the German-Americans, New York, May 22, 1897, pp. 9–10.

advocacy of sound currency and reform in the tariff and civil service. As a member of the executive committee of the German-American Reform Club, he took a prominent part in the election of William L. Strong as reform mayor of New York City.

Party reform

Andrew D. White has summed up the German influences under this head in saying: "So too in the improvement of political methods our country must acknowledge a similar debt to our fellow citizens of German descent."[1] He continues: "In the recent constitutional convention of this state, no voice was more potent and no efforts more effective in behalf of honest politics and better methods, especially in regard to the general civil service, the proper safeguards of education, and at a later period in the organization of municipalities throughout the state than that of the man whom I rejoice to call my friend, the Honorable Frederick William Holls;[2] and in the movement which led to a reform of the ballot, no man was more effectively energetic than Mr. Gustav Schwab."[3]

In New York State politics there occurred very recently a

[1] Extract from a speech made in New York, May 22, 1897.

[2] F. W. Holls was born in Zelienople, Pennsylvania, in 1857, the son of a German Lutheran minister. He graduated at Columbia University in 1878, from the Law School in 1886, and was honored by the University of Leipzig with the degree of D.C.L. in 1898. He was delegate-at-large to the constitutional convention, New York, 1894; chairman of the Committee on Education; author of amendments prohibiting state aid to sectarian schools; providing for civil service reform, and separating state and municipal elections; commissioner of government of cities of the third class, etc.

[3] Gustav Henry Schwab was born in New York, in 1851; educated in New York and Germany; member of the firm of Oelrichs & Company (North-German Lloyd); was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws, Chamber of Commerce, State of New York; was a member of the Committee of Seventy, in 1894; was decorated by the King of Italy and the Emperor of Germany.

good instance of the support given by the German element to reform movements. It was during Governor Hughes's fight against race-track gambling, when the state senate stood equally divided on the question, and the race-track interests were confident of victory. The possibility seemed too remote that Senator Otto G. Foelker of Kings, who had shortly before undergone a surgical operation, would attend the session, and if he should undertake to risk his life, a prolonged debate would force him to retire or collapse before the vote could be taken. But the enemy had not reckoned with the fortitude and determination of Mr. Foelker. Against all predictions and the advice of physicians, the senator appeared, literally carried to his seat, awaited the time for casting his ballot, and caused the passage of the bill by a vote of 26 to 25.[1] More was at stake in this vote than race-track gambling; it was a trial of strength between good government and boss rule, and the eyes of all good citizens were turned anxiously toward the state capitol at Albany. It was one of those moments in American political history when advance or reform depended upon the conscience and fidelity of the German voter, and the latter was not found wanting.

Frequently the criticism is made that Pennsylvania, the state in which the German population has been largest from the beginning, is most conservative, and has been at times unprogressive in her political history. Secondly, that *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the large German element is responsible for it. Whether the criticism be just

[1] The following extract from Governor Hughes's letter to Foelker (June 11, 1908) shows the importance of the act: "I desire to express my appreciation of your heroic action in coming to the senate this morning. Your courageous performance of duty at so grave a risk deserves the highest praise and will long be pointed to as a fine illustration of fidelity and patriotic devotion to the interests of the state."

or not, it was often heard a few years ago, before the cleaning-out of the political stables that followed the disclosures of scandals in connection with the building of the state capitol at Harrisburg. Patriotism and civic virtue have, however, been on as high a plane and of as frequent occurrence in Pennsylvania as elsewhere. If Pennsylvania has been tolerant of evil-doers, or very conservative, it is due, perhaps, to a strain in her character received from the numerous non-resistant sectarians, and the large Quaker element, who refused at the beginning to hold public office as opposed to their religion, and subsequently remained indifferent toward the game of politics. The same element produced a strong peace party at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, but in spite of these characteristics made a most desirable class of citizens. In the chapter on the Revolutionary War two German families were taken as typical of two opposing currents, — the Mühlenbergs, preaching war from the pulpit, and the Sauers, some of whom became Tories, representing with their printing-press the non-resistant German sectarians.

The fighting spirit of the Mühlenbergs has many modern instances; such is found in the career of William H. Pfahler, Civil War veteran, prominent manufacturer in Philadelphia, one of the original Committee of Seven who organized the Committee of Seventy which brought about the overthrow of the political ring that had long ruled Philadelphia. In most of the municipal reform movements the German element has taken a prominent part, as for instance in Baltimore in the overcoming of the Raisin Ring; in San Francisco, where Rudolf Spreckels has furnished the sinews of war in the fight against a most depraved and powerfully intrenched boss rule; in Toledo, where L. W. Wachenheimer was the prosecuting attorney against

the Toledo Ice Trust. From 1860 to 1871 the governments of the city and state of New York were in the clutches of four men, under the leadership of William M. Tweed, one of the most corrupt and tyrannical of ring-masters ever known. Through bribes, bulldozing, and deception of the lower classes at the polls, they succeeded in looting the public treasury to a degree passing belief, increasing the city's debt from twenty to over one hundred million dollars. While the leading spirit in overthrowing the ring was Samuel J. Tilden, no one man had more to do with inflaming public sentiment against the bosses than the German cartoonist, Thomas Nast,[1] who, with the effect of the handwriting on the wall, drew the picture of Tweed and his lieutenants behind the prison bars before such an outcome was expected by the most sanguine of the reformers, and who invented the Tammany Tiger symbol, and placed him with ferocious glare and expanded jaws over the prostrate form of bleeding Liberty, and who revealed the vultures ready to swoop upon their booty, or hiding in a cleft of the mountain, "waiting for the storm to blow over," crying in mockery "let us prey." He showed the people the solution to "What are you going to do about it?" and would have finished the career of the bosses with the gallows rope, an example to future generations. Another leader in this reform movement was William F. Havemeyer (born in 1804), who twice before had been elected mayor of the city of New York (1845 and 1848), and now in this great crisis of 1871 a third time became the people's choice for the position of trust which had been so much abused.

As a prosecuting attorney William Wirt, of German

[1] For an outline of the career of Nast, the founder of the cartoonist's art in the United States, see Chapter VII, pp. 360–363.

parentage,[1] won laurels in the early history of our country in the trial of Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States (1801–1805), who conspired to form an independent state in the Southwest, and was summoned to Richmond in 1807 on the charge of treason. As counsel on the government side the eloquent Wirt made the great effort of his life, in a speech which takes important rank in American oratorical literature.

Numerous have been the German mayors of cities who have stood for reforms or independence, as Charles Adolph Schieren, mayor of Brooklyn, Adolph H. J. Sutro of San Francisco, General John A. Wagener of Charleston, Fred. A. Busse of Chicago (after serving a most successful term as postmaster of the same city).

Peace congresses

The first step in the direction of international arbitration and elimination of the worst features of war was taken in 1889 by the Peace Conference at The Hague. The president of the American delegation was Andrew D. White, and its secretary, Frederick William Holls. The latter at one period of the conference served on a very important embassy to the German Emperor and the Chancellor of the German Empire, involving the success or failure of the Peace Conference.[2] It was a question whether or not Germany, and with her the Triple Alliance, would accede to the propositions acceptable elsewhere. The mission was completely successful, and is one instance

[1] Both of Wirt's parents were German; his father was born in Switzerland, his mother in Würtemberg. In Wirt's speech the description of the island home of Blennerhasset, an ideal retreat in the primeval forest, invaded by the ruthless slayer of Alexander Hamilton, is probably the most famous passage from a literary point of view.

[2] Cf. *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. ii, pp. 308 ff.

of many wherein Holls was employed in councils with crowned heads. During the deliberations of the conference, he was the only member of the whole body whose name was given by general consent to a successful proposal, for he was the author of the article on "Seconding Powers," which was finally adopted in full session with virtual unanimity, and is generally known as "la Proposition Holls." The death of this promising diplomatist in 1903 was a very great loss to his country and to the German element in the United States. In him were embodied the best qualities of the German in American politics, — independence, virility, high ideals, and broad culture.[1]

The initiative for the next International Peace Conference came from a German-American. The Interparliamentary Union, consisting of delegates from many of the great parliaments of the world, with the object of promoting international arbitration, held its annual meeting in St. Louis in 1904. Richard Bartholdt,[2] United

[1] A fitting memorial volume was prepared under the auspices of Columbia University, containing the addresses held by eminent men at the memorial service. (Printed privately, MCMIV.) The following ancedote illustrating the versatility of F. W. Holls was told by A. D. White at the latter's fireside: During The Hague Conference an elaborate Fourth of July banquet was given to the delegates of The Hague Conference by the United States. Holls was the chairman of the committee on arrangements. He was the master of several European languages, and his culture was many-sided. He was a skilled musician, and it occurred to him that as the representatives of the various nations came into the old church at Delft (where the tomb of Grotius was decorated that day), they might be received, each by the national hymn of his native land. The organist did not seem equal to the task, so Holls dismissed him, and he himself played the anthems of the different countries. A servant who had long been in the employ of diplomatists, and who knew all the dignitaries, gave the signal as they approached, whereupon Holls played the appropriate national air, much to the pleasure of those crossing the threshold.

[2] Richard Bartholdt was born in Germany, in 1855, and came to the United States in boyhood; he was president of the Board of Public Schools at St. Louis in 1891; member of Congress, Tenth Missouri District, 1893–1911.

States Congressman from Missouri, elected president of the Interparliamentary Union, offered a resolution, adopted unanimously, requesting the governments of all the world to send delegates to a second international conference. The result was the convocation, after several delays, of the Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907.[1]

Personal liberty — Temperance — Sunday observance

The attitude of the German element on the temperance question and Sunday observance has been clear-cut, independent, and frequently in opposition to the trend of dominant opinion. The historian [2] records: "Against the struggle of large sections of the American stock, particularly the descendants of New England colonists, the Germans introduced customs like beer-drinking, the different use of the Sabbath, etc., and for these rights they have used political power as well as social agitation." In every city with a large German population, the Puritanic element found themselves rebuked at the polls whenever they attempted legislation restricting what the German believes his freedom of choice or his personal liberty. One of the early instances was that of the Graham Liquor Law in Wisconsin. In 1872 the Republican party, feeling strong enough to act independently of the German vote, introduced a law, which was passed through the legislature, nominally to prevent the evils arising from the sale of intoxicant liquors. It was a blow dealt by the Puritanic and resented bitterly by the large German element, who

[1] Cf. William I. Hull, *The Two Hague Conferences*, p. 4, etc. (Ginn & Co., 1908.)

[2] Frederick J. Turner, *The German Immigration to the United States*, *Chicago Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

always jealously guarded their personal freedom; it was a measure also which had serious economic results, causing large losses for the extensive brewing interests of the state. There resulted an organization of the liberal-minded throughout the state, called the State Association for the Protection of Personal Liberty. The leaders of the association, prominent among whom was the German, F. W. Von Cotzhausen, effected various alliances with other parties, and at the next election, in the fall of 1873, the same Republican governor (Washburn) who two years before had been elected by a majority of over nine thousand was defeated by a Democratic majority of over fifteen thousand. For the first time in eighteen years, January 1, 1874, a Democratic governor entered the capitol at Madison. The enormity of the victory may have been due largely to the "Grangers' movement," but the Germans had a good deal to do with it.

The descendants of the Germans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are frequently found in the camp of the Prohibitionists, e. g., Joshua Levering of Baltimore, who was the Prohibition nominee for President of the United States in 1896. He was born in 1845, and is descended from Wigard Levering (Weekhart Libering), a landowner in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1685.[1] The more recent German immigrations, beginning with the refugees of the early nineteenth century, are practically without exception on the side of personal liberty. The resolutions adopted by the second convention of the National German-American Alliance,[2] held at Baltimore in

[1] Cf. *Sixth Annual Report*, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, p. 47.

[2] This union of all German societies of the land represents about a million and a half of German-American citizens. The purposes of the organization are outlined at the close of this chapter.

September, 1903, represent fully the position taken by the German element on these questions.[1] An abstract of these resolutions is as follows: "The right of personal liberty is guaranteed to every citizen of the Republic by its Constitution. 'Blue Laws,' so-called, restricting the personal liberty of the individual, are in opposition to the fundamental principles of our government and the enlightened spirit of the age in which we live. The 'Blue Laws' pretend to promote the sanctity of Sunday and to suppress intemperance. In practice, however, they accomplish neither purpose and tend to make hypocrites of our people. Puritanical Sunday laws are largely responsible for the existence of unlawful drinking-places and for the corruption of municipal officers intrusted with the enforcement of laws. We are furthermore opposed to the misuse of text-books in the public schools for Puritanical purposes; for children, under the guise of the study of hygiene, are given a wrong conception of temperance, which to the narrow-minded is synonymous with total abstinence. By such teaching there is fostered in the minds of children whose parents partake of alcoholic beverages, such as beer or light wines, in a temperate manner, an unnatural contempt for their parents, these being stamped as base sinners, or even criminals. Physicians of reputation have repeatedly stated that temperance lectures in public schools as delivered at present are of questionable value, and have recommended that they be abolished altogether. Even our military authorities favor the reintroduction of the canteen in the army, because the effect of its abolition was increased intemperance. The purchase of large quantities

[1] Cf. *German-American Annals*, vol. i (*Americana Germanica*, vol. v), pp. 683–686. (1903.) The resolutions are there printed in full, in the English and German languages.

of liquor at one time, as, for instance, on Saturday night for the succeeding day, produces topers and slaves of strong alcoholic drinks."

"Sunday should be interpreted as a day of rest and recreation. Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for man. The individual should be given perfect liberty to spend the day as he wishes. The fanatic would suppress all public life on Sunday, including traffic, the selling of newspapers and of the necessities of life. The question of Sunday observance as a day of prayer and repentance is a religious one, and the state must remain apart from the church in virtue of the principles laid down in the Constitution."

The spirit of the above resolutions was reproduced in the movements against the Hepburn-Dolliver Bill in 1904. The National German-American Alliance was represented by its president, C. J. Hexamer,[1] before the Committee on the Judiciary. He made clear the fact that the German population was actuated by sincere and patriotic motives. He quoted also the opinion of prominent educators, on the "concomitant evils of prohibitory regulation."[2] Among interesting arguments delivered before the Committee on the Judiciary, there was that of Mrs. Fernande Richter of St. Louis, in which she declared the cause of woman and the home endangered in consequence of prohibition. Woman enlisted on this side of the question was a novel feature, as was also the support of many German pastors representing some of the oldest and most influential churches in the country. Pure in their own lives, they re-

[1] His argument, as delivered before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, United States, January 20, 1904, is given in full in *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 128–132.

[2] Quoted from *The Investigation of the Liquor Problem.* By Charles W. Eliot, Seth Low, and James C. Carter. Cf. *ibid*, p. 131.

presented the cause of temperance against abstinence.[1] The bill before the House was not one of absolute prohibition, but of prohibition against the importation of alcoholic liquors from other states by people living in prohibition states. The House Committee reported the bill favorably with the amendment that importation should be allowed, provided the alcoholic liquors were for private use. This was in effect a complete victory for the cause of temperance against abstinence.[2]

In many of our cities the clash between the Puritanic and the German views of life has frequently led each party to extremes. The Germans would indulge far more immoderately than is their wont in the Fatherland, and the Puritanic element would teach their children to despise the person that touched the cup or bought a Sunday newspaper. The younger generations, if not prejudiced by their elders, knowing nothing of the bitterness of the ancient warfare, by tacit compromise, tolerance, and better understanding of the needs of the American people, will no doubt settle the question equitably, and separate it altogether from politics.

The German language

The school question, that is, the introduction of the

[1] The arguments of Mrs. Richter and the abstracts of those of the ministers are given in *German-American Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 199 ff. and 263 ff.

[2] The arguments throughout were based upon the right of personal liberty, which is after all the essential point for the German. Another argument which has frequently been made in favor of the beer-drinking habit is that it is less detrimental to health, if detrimental at all, than the use of stronger alcoholic drinks, such as whiskey, rum, absinthe, cordials, and wine. Beer, if displacing the stronger drinks, produces an improvement. There have been arguments advanced also, pointing to good effects of the German beer-garden, which has spread so widely over the United States within recent years. Its music, relaxing quality, and sociability in or near our busy cities, have impressed favorably many thinkers on social questions.

German language into the public schools, was also a cause for which the Germans in various localities brought pressure to bear at the polls. The Germans in Ohio, having given powerful support to the Democratic Party in the election of 1836, began to feel that the party owed them some recognition. The preservation of the German language in the next generation has always been a fond aim of the German immigrant; so it was in Cincinnati. Though there existed a Presbyterian school and a Catholic institution in which German instruction was given, nevertheless a more general opportunity was desired. Since they had paid taxes for the support of the public schools, the Germans considered it their right to exercise some influence on the course of study. According to their idea, English was not to be excluded, but German was to be taught, parallel with the language of the country, in the public schools. The German element turned to the legislature of Ohio, and the latter in 1838 passed a law by which the German language might be taught in the public schools in those districts where there was a large German population and the people desired it. The law was expected to be enforced by the school board, who, however, interpreted the law as advisory and not compulsory. In the succeeding election of 1839 pledges were taken from the candidates that the wording of the law should be revised so as to prevent any possibility of loopholes. Accordingly the law was changed in 1840, which marks the date of the introduction of German-English public schools in Cincinnati and Ohio. The leading German advocates in this movement were Renz, Molitor, Rädter, Rehfuss, Mühl, Klauprecht, and some others.

The introduction of the German language into American legislative bodies was attempted in Pennsylvania. In

1836 a meeting of Germans of the city and county of Philadelphia was held, which was attended by about two thousand persons. In the addresses the economic importance of the German element as farmers and merchants was emphasized in justification of their attempting to assume a position of equal importance with the English-speaking element. A new constitution was to be created, written in both languages, and the German language was to be taught in the public schools. The legislature of Pennsylvania, following an ancient precedent,[1] ordered the important laws that had been enacted during its session to be published also in the German language. The movement also had the result that in Pennsylvania the messages of governors were printed in both the English and German languages. The custom, however, fell into disuse after the German newspapers grew in numbers and importance, for they printed in detail all political records and such matters as the German voter needed to know. In the matter of German schools Pennsylvania went even farther than Ohio, and did so earlier. In the year 1837 a law was passed by which German schools were to be founded (1) on an equal basis with English, and (2) some in which all instruction was to be given in German. Nowhere else was the latter privilege asked for or obtained.[2]

[1] During and subsequent to the period of the Revolution, important legislative action in Pennsylvania was invariably ordered to be printed in both English and German. Cf. *Minutes of the Convention of 1789–1790* (November 28, 1789): "Resolved, that it be the order of the day for Tuesday next, to appoint a printer to this convention in the English, and another in the German language." Interpreters were appointed in the law courts for the Pennsylvania-Germans, and many of their descendants, conversant with the English language, insist on this ancient privilege even at the present day.

[2] For the struggles of the Germans in Ohio and Pennsylvania for German-English public schools, see Körner, *Das Deutsche Element, 1818–1848*, pp. 197 ff. and 61 ff.

Independent voting

The safeguard in a political system based on a rule by the majority is independent voting. It is both the compass and the pilot of the ship of state, pointing out and firmly holding to the path of intelligence, honesty, and patriotism. Independent voting is opposed to the old tradition of fidelity to party, but is one of the most powerful and beneficent influences in modern politics. It is a remarkable fact that the early Germans, quite as much as the immigrations of the nineteenth century, who had the advantage of able political leadership and well-edited newspapers in their own language, should have proved themselves independent voters. The Germans, with few exceptions, could not be relied upon either by demagogues or by astute party men to vote consistently with their party organization. The politician catering to the German vote often found himself strangely deceived. He never expected that the German might think for himself and vote as seemed right to him. The politician in his wrath would declare the Germans politically incapable. From his point of view they were un-American. They did not cling to one party. The fact of the matter is, they were independent voters, and they appeared as such at a very early period. Benjamin Franklin made this discovery before the Revolutionary War, and he was provoked to an extent surprising in that suave diplomatist. In a letter to Peter Collinson, Benjamin Franklin[1] says: "I am perfectly of your mind that measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans, and am not without apprehensions that through their indiscretion, or ours, or both, great disorders

[1] Cf. Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, vol. vii, pp. 71–73. The letter is dated Philadelphia, May 9, 1753.

may one day arise among us." Then he speaks of the ignorance of the Germans, their incapability of using the English language, the impossibility of removing their prejudices, — "not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it," etc. "They are under no restraint from any ecclesiastic government; they behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil government, which I wish they may continue to do, for I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them except in one or two counties." The last sentence betrays the learned writer of the letter; the uncertainty of their votes is the cause for his accusations of ignorance and prejudice. On the point of ignorance we get contradictory evidence in the same letter: "Few of their children in the country know English. They import many books from Germany and of the six printing-houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half-German, half-English, and but two entirely English.[1] They have one German newspaper and one half-German. Advertisements intended to be general are now printed in Dutch [German] and English. The signs in our streets [Philadelphia] have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German. They begin of late to make all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed good in our courts, where the German business so increases that there is continued need of interpreters; and I suppose within a few years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half of our legislators what the

[1] This large use and production of books disproves want of education. The Germans' lack of familiarity with the English language was popularly looked upon as ignorance.

other half say. In short, unless the stream of importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious."

One of the earliest independents in American politics was Jacob Leisler, the German governor of New York, who was the representative of the people's party, and became a martyr[1] to their cause (1691). Another German in New York City, Peter Zenger, founded the first independent political newspaper in New York, and prepared the way for the liberty of the press in the United States.[2] The independent action of the German element on the slave question, on sound money, personal liberty, in municipal reform movements, has been spoken of in previous paragraphs. One example among thousands of independent voting is that of Louis Windmüller (born in Münster, Germany), treasurer of the Reform Club of New York since 1889, who supported Cleveland on the tariff issue and McKinley on the financial question.

The greatest independent in American politics, one who has frequently been called the "original independent," was Carl Schurz. This political luminary, so justly called the greatest of the German-Americans who came to the United States, made a brilliant career on both sides of the Atlantic, every feature of which is full of interest. A brief sketch of his life will therefore be given here, to be followed in the succeeding paragraphs by an account of some of the leading Germans prominent in American political affairs.

[1] Vol. I, Chap. I, pp. 23–24. [2] Vol. I, Chap. IV, pp. 105–110.

Typical German figures in American politics

Carl Schurz was born in the village of Liblar, near Cologne, March 2, 1829. After a preparatory education in the Catholic gymnasium at Cologne, he entered the University of Bonn, in 1846. There he came under the spell of Professor Johann Gottfried Kinkel, a poet, orator, and idealist. When the revolutionary movement of 1848 began, Kinkel, the inspirer of youth, at once enlisted as a private among the insurgents. Schurz followed his teacher's example, and served as adjutant under General Tiedemann, until the latter's surrender of the fortress Rastadt, with forty-five hundred revolutionary troops, July 21, 1849. The young Schurz, a Prussian subject, expecting no quarter if captured, made his escape through the sewer connected with the Rhine, and fled to Switzerland. Kinkel in the mean time had been taken prisoner, tried for treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Spandau, near Berlin. His enthusiastic young admirer now conceived the daring ambition of rescuing him. Under a disguise, and with the aid of wealthy sympathizers, this romantic project, after a failure that seemed to banish all hope, was successfully carried out in November, 1850.[1] The event had a sensational effect throughout Europe, and became the theme of poetry and fiction. Friedrich Spielhagen, the novelist, fellow student of Schurz at Bonn, described the incident in his novel "Die von Hohenstein."

Schurz and Kinkel [2] escaped to Scotland. Schurz spent

[1] See *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, vol. i.

[2] Kinkel came to this country, but after a five years' residence returned to London as a professor and newspaper editor. Subsequently he accepted a call to the Polytechnicum in Zurich in 1866, where he lived until 1882.

about two years in London and Paris, supporting himself as a newspaper correspondent, and learning the French and English languages. In 1852 he crossed to America with his bride, Margaretha Meyer (the daughter of a well-known Hamburg merchant), with whom he had become acquainted in London during the gloomy period of his exile. He first resided in Philadelphia, and then removed to Watertown, Wisconsin, where he at once attached himself to the Republican Party. His candidacy for lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin, his campaign speeches, and the fame of his arguments against slavery have been described in paragraphs above. As a reward for his influence on the election of Lincoln, he was appointed United States Minister to Spain. He presented his credentials at Madrid, July 16, 1861, but in December of the same year resigned his post in order to enter the service of the Union Army. He was commissioned brigadier-general, in April, 1862, and in June took command of a division in the corps of General Franz Sigel. He took part in the second battle of Bull Run, was appointed major-general in 1863, and commanded a division of the Eleventh Corps under General O. O. Howard. His military career at Chancellorsville, Chattanooga, Gettysburg, and in the Georgia campaign under Sherman, has been outlined in another chapter.[1] At the termination of the war Schurz was one of the first to resign his commission as general, his resignation being the second one received by the War Department (General Sigel's was the first). During the war and while in active service in the field, Schurz had not ceased to use his powers of eloquence in behalf of the Republican Party. He occasionally took a leave of absence from the army when it seemed necessary to

[1] Volume I, Chapter XVI.

arouse enthusiasm in support of the administration, and in 1864 made some notable speeches in the second Lincoln campaign.

In the summer of 1865 Schurz received an important commission to make a tour of the Southern States, and report on the condition of the country and the state of public sentiment. His report was candid and judicial, full of suggestions, and a model of its kind. Then followed a few years of journalistic work, as Washington correspondent of the New York "Tribune," editor of the Detroit "Post," and in 1867, editor of the "Westliche Post" (also joint proprietor with Emil Praetorius), his residence becoming St. Louis. Visiting Europe, he was received with distinguished honors in Germany, and in an interview with Bismarck gave an account, by request, of his Kinkel exploit. Bismarck declared that in Schurz's place he would have done the same thing.

In the Republican Convention of May, 1868, which nominated General Grant, Schurz was temporary chairman, and instrumental also in inserting in the platform a resolution recommending a general amnesty. In the campaign that followed, Schurz was again one of the most effective speakers of the Republican Party. On January 19, 1869, the Missouri legislature elected him Senator, the first German-born citizen who had ever been a member of the upper house of Congress.[1] "The career of Carl Schurz in the Senate would have been sufficiently remarkable if regarded merely as a demonstration of his great gifts as a parliamentary orator, and of his readiness as a debater. He was not only the most effective speaker in the Republican Party, but the greatest orator who has

[1] For an account of Schurz's senatorial campaign, his joint debate with Senator Drake, etc., see *Reminiscences*, vol. iii.

appeared in Congress in our generation. Unlike many of his most distinguished colleagues, he never resorted to inflated or bombastic rhetoric and never stooped to any of the well-worn artifices with which demagogues from time immemorial have been wont to tickle the ears of the mob. As was truly said of him, he always spoke as a rational man to rational men; he was always sure of his subject and always full of it, and the natural consequence was that he always had something to say that was worthy of serious attention, even from those who might differ from him in opinion." "His English style very rarely and even then only slightly betrayed his foreign birth and education; and in acquiring so perfect a command of the foreign idiom, he had never in any degree forfeited his mastery of his native tongue. To his other qualities he added a quick wit with a biting sarcasm, which could cut very deep without ever overstepping the bounds of parliamentary decorum, and which made him formidable both in attack and in defense." "Schurz's greatness as an orator lay in this, that he not only spoke as a rational man to rational men, but as a man of heart and conscience, who judges every man by himself and feels that his best hold is in appealing to the better nature of his hearers. What he said of Sumner in his unsurpassed eulogy of the Massachusetts Senator, that 'he stands as the most pronounced idealist among the public men of America,' might with equal truth be said of himself."[1] He was asked at one time why he would strive for ideals that were distant as the stars, and he replied, "the stars are what we must sail by." "He was the original independent in politics and the whole political faith of the independ-

[1] The passages in quotation marks are taken from the New York *Evening Post*, Monday, May 14, 1906.

ent can be deduced from his utterances." He disagreed with his party on a number of important issues: in the matter of the Ku-Klux laws; in advocating a general amnesty; he opposed the administration of Grant on the San Domingo question; he exposed the crookedness of men in high places in regard to the sale of arms to France during the Franco-Prussian War. He entered the Liberal Republican movement in Missouri in 1870, the first prominent current of independence in politics. In 1872 he presided over the Liberal Convention which nominated Horace Greeley for the presidency, and supported him through his campaign against Grant. At all times he showed his independence of party, and pointed to the greater ideal of reform and patriotism. He stood for reform in the civil service and the tariff, at times when reform had few friends, when the Republican Party, corrupt from long tenure of office, seemed omnipotent, when reformers were looked upon as impractical theorists. James Russell Lowell thought the loss of Carl Schurz to the Senate was a national misfortune. Many friends in America and abroad gave expression to their regret at his retirement.

He visited Europe and on his return was asked to stump the state of Ohio in favor of Hayes and honest money, against Allen and inflation. He transferred the fight that he had carried on in the Senate to the stump, and his efforts had much to do with winning the close victory for Hayes. He carried with him a large independent vote that like himself thought Hayes the safer man for sound currency and civil service reform. As Secretary of the Interior, member of the cabinet of President Hayes, Schurz carried out continuously for the first time the idea of civil service reform. Even more strenuous were his

duties in the improvement of his department. He was looked upon before assuming office as a visionary without any business capacity, but he very shortly proved the contrary to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of his constituents. The Indian Bureau was in a deplorable condition. Indian agents were cheating the wards of the nation of benefits bestowed upon them. As quickly as Schurz found men guilty or careless, he removed them without hesitation. Another branch of his department which was dear to his heart was forestry. Therein also his German blood and training asserted themselves. He was the first official in a high position to check the devastations of forests and call the nation's attention to the great natural resources contained in the timber-lands. He naturally came into collision with the great corporations, but he was utterly without fear when a moral question was at stake. The agricultural department received his attention, the pension and patent offices, the census, public lands, the surveys, and railroads. He lived in his office and not in the lobbies, and served his nation without regard for the host of enemies he was making. His talents were great, his capacity for work enormous, but that which stands out above all was the strength of his character and the example of his life devoted to high ideals. His position as member of the cabinet ended his political life in office. He had been weighed in the balance of political corruption and had been found wanting, — but his martyrdom had a wonderful effect in inspiring others to emulation of his example.

His remaining years were devoted to literary work and to the continuation of his struggle for reform. Schurz became one of the editors of the New York "Evening Post" in July, 1881, and continued to the end of 1883. In 1884 he took a prominent part in the independent

movement which rose against the Republican Party and culminated in the election of Grover Cleveland, a man after his own heart. The life of Henry Clay from the pen of Carl Schurz appeared in 1887, and some competent judges say that they never understood Henry Clay before reading the biography by Schurz.[1] Numerous are the articles by his pen that appeared in American monthly periodicals, such as the one in the "Atlantic" on Abraham Lincoln. His "Reminiscences" are a masterpiece, valuable alike for their literary style and historical materials. Carl Schurz was an able lecturer on historical subjects. Contemporaries speak of a memorable series of historical lectures given at the University of Michigan, when the speaker, as in the days of the anti-slavery campaigns, held his hearers spellbound by the earnestness of his convictions, the broadness of his scholarship, and the eloquent flow of his language. Ex-President Andrew D. White said that he considered it a "bad slip" in his administration that he had never thought of calling Carl Schurz to a chair of history at Cornell University.[2]

A number of times Schurz was chosen president of the National Civil Service Reform Association, and was gratified by the progress of the movement. He supported Cleveland in the campaigns of 1888 and 1892, but opposed the silver craze of the misguided Democratic Party.

[1] Biographers before him had always canonized Clay or dragged him in the mire. Schurz, who aimed at telling the truth, and was sympathetic, made the figure of Clay respected in the estimation of fair-minded readers.

[2] A. D. White, first president of Cornell University (1867–1885), made this remark in conversation with the writer, and has permitted him to use it here. Carl Schurz being busy in public life, the thought of offering a professorship in Cornell University was remote from the president's mind. "But what an eloquent lecturer he would have been, and I think he might have accepted for the great service he could have done us," said ex-President White.

His speeches throughout the country to German-Americans, whether in German or English, were always full of the ideal of good citizenship, and, though Carl Schurz was inspired with the critical spirit of reform, he never grew to be a pessimist. Unlike his able contemporary, Friedrich Kapp, who returned to Germany after 1871, but just as Francis Lieber (who refused the offer of public office in Prussia), Carl Schurz always remained true to the country of his adoption, and would not entertain the thought of returning to his native land, though conditions there had changed for the better, and approached the realization of his early hopes. There has probably never been paid a more dignified tribute to a public man than the memorial service in honor of Carl Schurz, which took place November 21, 1906, in New York City, six months after his death. The intellectual and moral forces of the country were represented by those who took part in the service. The meeting was presided over by Joseph H. Choate, ambassador to England, who delivered the introductory address. The speakers were ex-President Cleveland, President Eliot of Harvard, Professor Eugen Kuehnemann of Breslau, as the representative of German universities, Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, Booker T. Washington, the philanthropist of his race, and Richard Watson Gilder, the poet and editor, all of them men who have made idealism the ruling principle of their lives.

Another noble figure in American politics, worthy to be placed by the side of Carl Schurz, is Francis Lieber,[1] the educator of American youth at two important univers-

[1] One of the best essays written on Francis Lieber is that of F. W. Holls: *Franz Lieber, Sein Leben und Seine Werke.* Vortrag gehalten, 1882. (New York: Steiger & Co., 1884.) Cf. also *Franz Lieber*, Denkrede von H. A. Rattermann, reprinted from *German-American Annals*, December, 1904.

ities, authoritative writer on international law and political ethics, and participant in the great movements of political regeneration in Europe and America during the nineteenth century.

Francis (Franz) Lieber was born at Berlin in 1800. "Boys, polish your muskets," cried his venerable father one day, entering the house; "he has broken loose again" [meaning Napoleon from Elba]. That was glorious news for the young men of the house, one of whom, Francis, was but fifteen years of age. Appearing before their mother, they asked her consent, and she, stalwart as the mother of the Gracchi, though the anxieties of the campaign of 1813–1814 were scarcely overcome, embraced her boys and said, "Go." Franz, a soldier for the love of it, enlisted in the veteran Pomeranian Colberg Regiment, which soon got into the thickest of the fight. In the battle of Ligny his company of one hundred and fifty was reduced to thirty. Under Blücher, the regiment took part in the battle of Waterloo. Lieber came out of all battles without a scratch until, in the attack on Namur, he was severely wounded in the neck and chest. Only after months of suffering in a hospital had he sufficiently recovered to return home to Berlin. Then he took up again his studies at the gymnasium and university, where his love of liberty brought him under suspicion. Among Lieber's papers the inquisitors found some poems of freedom which they published to prove his guilt. Lieber declares that he thus got a reputation as a poet in spite of himself.[1] He was thrown into prison, and when released was forbidden to visit or study in any Prussian university. He therefore

[1] The Kraftausdruck "mordfaul" was also found in Lieber's journal, and was interpreted as "crooked in the planning of murder." Cf. Holls, *supra*, p. 8.

went to Jena, where he took his doctor's degree in 1820. Then came the period of the Greek revolt, inspiring young Europeans of classical culture with enthusiasm for the liberty of Greece. Overcoming all difficulties, Lieber, like many hundreds of idealists, forced his way to the land of ancient art and literature. Most of those that got to Greece died, heroically in battle, or, more frequently, wretchedly of fever. After untold hardships Lieber left Missolonghi (where Byron died), in 1822, on board a small vessel that sailed for Italy. One and one half scudi was all the money that he had left after paying his passage. He had considerable trouble about his pass, and was not allowed to go to Rome. In order to satisfy his ambition to see the Eternal City he cleverly used his pass as far as Toskana, from whence he went afoot to Rome. A brilliant idea struck him on his arrival, namely, to apply to the Prussian ambassador. Penniless and tattered, the young man appeared before the famous Niebuhr, who then occupied the embassy, and from that time on dated their lifelong friendship. The historian of ancient Rome at once recognized the sincerity and ability of the young enthusiast, and kept him in his family for more than a year as a private tutor for his oldest son. Thus Lieber was enabled to study Rome to his heart's content, and under the most favorable guidance. Niebuhr then used his influence to gain for his protégé a permission to return to Berlin. In spite of favorable promises, Lieber, when he returned home, was arrested, and thrown into the prison of Koepnik. After much trouble, Niebuhr succeeded in getting him out, but safety for Lieber could now only be obtained through exile. In 1825 he was in London, eking out an existence as a newspaper correspondent and tutor. Two years later he decided to go to America, with Niebuhr's

approval, but with the admonition that he should not forget to return to Germany, and should never write any more political treatises. The warnings of his faithful friend were not obeyed, however, as his succeeding career will show.

Letters of introduction from Niebuhr served Lieber well in Boston. He first took a position as an instructor of gymnastics. But literary work also occupied him, among other things an American adaptation of the Brockhaus "Konversations-Lexikon." His friends, Judge Story and G. S. Hillard of Boston, assisted him. The work was called "Encyclopædia Americana," was published by Cary of Philadelphia, and formed the basis for the subsequent "American Encyclopædia," published by the Appletons. Lieber's articles on political science, on Greece, his biographies of Grotius, Macchiavelli, and Montesquieu, are very noteworthy. He also wrote on the subject of prisons, concerning which he could speak from personal experience as few other writers. His views concerning prison discipline and reformatories were highly valued. He was employed in 1833 to draw up a plan for the education of the students of Girard College in Philadelphia. During the execution of this commission he learned to know the élite of Philadelphia, as he had previously become acquainted with the leading spirits of New England.[1]

In 1835 Lieber was called to the professorship of History and Political Economy in South Carolina College, Columbia, South Carolina, at that time one of the leading

[1] Among his intimate friends and associates in Boston were Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard University; W. E. Channing, the pulpit orator; the Greek scholar, President Felton; the historians Prescott, Bancroft, and later, Motley, George Ticknor, Charles Sumner, and the poet Longfellow. In Philadelphia his friends were H. C. Carey, the banker, Nicholas Biddle, the jurists Binney and C. J. Ingersoll, Judge Thayer (the author of a memorial address in honor of Lieber), and the ex-King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte.

universities of the prosperous South. His leaving the North was a matter of regret to many of his admirers, but to Lieber it brought perhaps as many advantages as disadvantages. Life in the North would have given him more intellectual stimulus, but probably less leisure for his great works. The intimate acquaintance with Southern people and their view of the great struggle soon to come made him far more judicial and fair-minded than he could have been otherwise. In the South he produced the great works upon which his international fame depends, giving him rank with Grotius and Montesquieu as a writer on international law. His first monumental work appeared in 1837 called "Manual of Political Ethics," which was followed by "Legal and Political Hermeneutics" (1839), and "Civil Liberty and Self-Government" (1853). These are his greatest works, and the last-named is the most popular. Besides these he wrote a number of essays, of which the "Character of the Gentleman," "On Questions of the Post-Office and Postal Reforms," "Great Events described by Great Historians," "Essays on Property and Labor," "Penal Laws and the Penitentiary System," "The Necessity for Continuous Self-Culture," are good examples. "These works," says the Honorable Russell Thayer, "are all written with as much ease and purity of idiom as if English had been his native tongue, a fact not more remarkable than that he, a German, should have become the great American teacher of the Philosophy of Anglican Political Science." In 1856 he resigned the professorship in South Carolina College, and was immediately elected to a similar chair in Columbia College, New York, that of political science in the law department. During the Civil War Lieber rendered services of great value to the government, and was frequently called to Washington

to consult with Lincoln, Stanton, and Seward on important questions of military and international law. He had been one of the first to point out the unwisdom of secession, and had been very active in the support of union. On the requisition of the President and General Halleck he prepared the "Code of War for the Government and the Armies of the United States in the Field," which was adopted by the armies of the North and published as General Orders No. 100 of the War Department. This code has been characterized as a masterpiece by many European publicists, and it suggested to Bluntschli his codification of the laws of nations, Bluntschli adding Lieber's "Instructions" as an appendix to his "Modernes Völkerrecht."[1] Deeply was Lieber made to feel the asperities of civil war, for his oldest son, who had married in the South during his father's long residence there, fought in the army of the Confederates, and died on the field of battle, while two younger sons were in the Northern armies defending the Union.

Lieber did not live many years after the close of the war. At the time of his death, October 2, 1872, he was by appointment of the government the umpire of the commission for the adjudication of Mexican claims. He was planning another great work on the "Origin and the National Elements of the Constitution of the United States"; only a fragment has come down to us, but it promised to show the author at his best. The personality of Lieber was most attractive. He was a child among children, a fencer, gymnast, and sportsman with boys, and a stimulating, witty, buoyant companion among men.

[1] Cf. Holls, p. 18; and Thayer, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiv, p. 564. In Europe Lieber had many friends: Humboldt, Niebuhr, Bunsen, Mittermaier, Von Mohl, Bluntschli, Laboulaye, De Tocqueville, Von Holzendorff.

His features were those of a handsome strong man, of great intellectual capacity and of unusual force. In his youth he could swim four miles without being overtired, and he was a "Turner" with heart and soul. Judge Thayer says that "few men combined such amiability with greatness and strength"; and Judge Story said "his conversation is always fresh, original, scintillating with reminiscences; he always sets me thinking." Lieber was a hard student, rarely idle, and on occasion could work almost night and day with little sleep. The motto of his study was: —

"Patria Cara,
Carior Libertas,
Veritas Carissima."

That was the motto of his life; though his Fatherland[1] was dear to him, liberty was more precious, and truth the highest ideal of all. It is the motto also of the German university teacher.

Another interesting type of German politician, representing an early period of immigration, is that of the ex-governor of Pennsylvania, Samuel W. Pennypacker. The family dates back to the pre-Revolutionary period, and is Pennsylvania-German.[2] Politicians and journalists have been very much puzzled about the governor. He is always true to the people, or at least that is his

[1] Lieber forever remained true to his adopted country. On a visit to his native land in 1844, and again in 1848, Frederick William IV of Prussia tried to keep him in Berlin, offering him a professorship of penology at the University, and the superintendentship of prisons in the kingdom. Lieber refused to be employed as long as the reactionary government remained. He was deeply interested in the Franco-Prussian War, and would have preferred to be a soldier once more, had his age permitted. But he never thought of returning to Germany to live.

[2] The earlier spelling of the name was Pannebecker. Cf. Kuhns, *Studies in Pennsylvania-German Family Names*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. iv, p. 318.

purpose. He wants to know what they want, and then goes ahead and does it if he can. "This governor may appear guileless and innocent, he may seem to have a far-away look in his eyes, but nobody fools him. He means what he says and he will stand no nonsense — the people of the state have long realized that. One of his inflexible traits is that he never tells what he is going to do until he has made up his mind to act and has given orders for the action."[1] An instance of his courage and promptness was seen in the proclamation of May, 1906, in which he called on all men in the anthracite region to keep the peace during that restless period, and warned them that no violence would be tolerated. People knew him to be a man of his word. They were convinced that he would exhaust every resource of the state to prevent a repetition of the scene of three years before, when rioting and murder were frequent, homes were dynamited, and the state thereby disgraced. The governor had informed himself well through the newspapers, and struck his blow at the proper time, according to his own way of thinking, and he got the people to think the same way. He was perfectly fearless, and could not be browbeaten by party friends or enemies.

Long service on the bench made him an excellent judge of human character. He was considered the most intellectual governor Pennsylvania has had since the day of Governor Hoyt; he is a better reader than listener. On the bench Governor Pennypacker was regarded as a learned and just judge; in the rôle of politician he is generally considered not a success, needing the help of a Quay to put him into office. Others as stoutly deny this, and declare that he has made a study of politicians as well as newspapers, and has set the one class in awe of him, and

[1] Quoted from the New York *Evening Post*, Thursday, May 17, 1906.

made the other respect him. The old Pennsylvania-German virtues are exemplified in him, such as an ideal home life, his good humor, his intimate knowledge of agricultural matters, and his hospitality. "Come into Pennypacker's mills and have some apple-jack with me," is the motto in the governor's den in his farm home, and is deduced from a legend of the Revolutionary War, according to which George Washington, having his headquarters in the Pennypacker farmhouse, on a wintry day cheered up a young aide with that cordial invitation. The striking feature in Pennypacker's success in politics was not ambition or diplomacy, but character, and above all, "rugged honesty and fearlessness, and for these characteristics and his fair-mindedness, it is said that if there were a vacancy on the Supreme Court bench to-day, he would be nominated and elected by an enormous majority of the people of Pennsylvania."[1]

Another German of the early immigration who won distinction in the politics of his state was William Bouck, governor of New York. He was a representative of the old Palatine population in Schoharie County, who had been Jackson Democrats, and remained faithful to the Democratic Party. Bouck (Bauk) had made a reputation for simplicity and honesty while discharging his duties as canal commissioner of the state. He had driven his old white horse and buggy along the tow-path the whole length of the canals, and by keeping careful watch of the contractors had, in his simple way, saved the state much money.[2] His nickname was "the Old White Hoss of Schoharie." The old man's white hair and whiskers matched the color of his horse. He was not cultivated, but had

[1] New York *Evening Post*, May 17, 1906.

[2] Cf. *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. i, p. 57.

a very impressive figure; he looked very wise and said little.[1]

Another interesting type is the German political boss as he sometimes exists in localities where Germans are very numerous. Such was Philipp Dorschheimer, born in Rhein-Hessen, in 1797. He came to America at the age of nineteen. Having had a good training in flour-milling at home, he started as an overseer in a mill in New York State, and subsequently became a hotel proprietor in Buffalo, New York. He learned enough English to get along well with the native population, and retained enough German to do the same with the Germans, never, however, ridding himself of native dialect and linguistic monstrosities, which produced a humorous effect. However, he had the gift of impressing people mightily in private conversation, and those that left him came away in awe of his power and influence. He also possessed the politician's memory and ease of intercourse. It was in the city of Buffalo where he gained the reputation of having the vote of the Germans in his control. The victory of the Whigs in 1840 gave him a postmastership, but he did not use this position to acquire money, nor did he in any other political office that he ever held. His connection with the Mansion House of Buffalo as hotel-keeper (until 1864) gained for him even a larger circle of acquaintances. In 1848 Dorschheimer joined the Free-Soil Party and worked and voted for Van Buren. He had the instinct for divining what the future had in store, and he joined the Republican Party as soon as it was formed, supporting Frémont strenuously. In the Convention of 1856 at Philadelphia, he moved about unconcernedly among governors, senators, judges, journalists, and the great men of the party. If people asked who that

[1] Cf. *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, vol. i, p. 57.

gigantic figure was, the reply came, "O! that is old Dorschheimer, the great leader of the New York Germans." He made a speech at that convention, saying that he was only a simple old German, no politician, but this one thing he could tell the convention, namely, that he knew his people and that there was no man they would rather vote for than Frémont. He was understood, and he made good his promise. In 1859 the Republican Party elected Dorschheimer state treasurer, and in 1863 President Lincoln appointed him chief revenue collector for the district in which Buffalo lay. Only an honest man could be chosen for such a place, and honesty was a rarer quality than cleverness.

Dorschheimer did not die a rich man; nevertheless he was able to give his son William an excellent education. The young man became a spirited political leader, a Democrat, twice vice-governor of New York, opponent of Grant in 1872, supporter of Tilden in 1876, and withal an improved edition of his father in politics.[1] There are hundreds of Dorschheimers throughout the United States, who have won their influence through sturdiness and honesty.

Admirable types of leaders of the German element and also of public-spirited citizens are furnished by Friedrich Münch of Missouri; General J. A. Wagener of South Carolina; and Gustav Schleicher of Texas. All of them have been mentioned in previous chapters. Gustav Schleicher at one period of his career proved his entire independence of parties, gaining a third election to Congress on his own past record. The Democratic Party that elected him having split, he took the stump himself as an independent candidate, and secured his election through his own efforts. Schleicher was a member of some of the most important

[1] Cf. Körner, *supra*, pp. 140-143.

congressional committees, such as the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the one on Railroads. His reports on the relations with Mexico and on other matters of arbitration were accurate and thorough. He died in office, and the orators at the funeral service included General Butler of Massachusetts and James A. Garfield, subsequently President of the United States. Schleicher was a popular hero throughout Texas, his reputation being by no means confined to the German element.[1]

Another example of a German prominent in public life is that of Michael Hahn, who was born in the Palatinate in 1830. He came to America at an early age with his parents, who settled in New Orleans. He was trained in law, and early entered the political arena. In 1862 New Orleans was taken by the Union forces, and Hahn, who had also before the event been opposed to the principles of the Confederacy, formed the Union Association, the purpose of which was to create a Union Party in Louisiana. Hahn was elected to the United States Congress in 1863 by this party. He advocated the reorganization of the state on the basis of the abolition of slavery. He founded a newspaper, "The True Delta," to represent his party's views. At the next election, in 1864, he was made governor of Louisiana by the loyalists of the state. The difficult task of the reorganization of the state's affairs now devolved upon him, and he had a great share in initiating the movement of the actual emancipation of the slaves.[2] Subsequently Hahn devoted himself to the improvement of the schools of his state, and in particular the public schools. He was also a town-builder, founding Hahnville, in St. Charles Parish.

[1] Garfield in his eulogy also made mention of Schleicher's use of excellent English.

[2] Cf. Körner, *supra*, p. 378.

As compared with other leading Germans, Hahn had greater opportunities in his state; nevertheless he was a man of unusual ability and courage, who could create opportunity. He never feared opposition, and on one occasion became the object of an attack and was severely wounded by a mob (1866).

Few men born in Germany have, like Hahn in Louisiana, had the good fortune of being elected governor of a state. The fact of his being identified with a foreign element, which offended the strong nativistic tendencies of each political party, defeated Carl Schurz as a candidate for lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin. Sometimes the failure to pronounce the English language just like a native ruined a candidate's chances for office.[1] There were quite a number of Germans who were elected lieutenant-governors of states where the large German vote required recognition; some, such as Edward Salomon, war governor of Wisconsin, having been elected lieutenant-governor, on the death of the regularly elected governor (in this case Governor Harvey) succeeded to the governor's office. More recently Reinhold Sadler (born in Prussia, in 1848) has been governor of Nevada. But he also was first elected lieutenant-governor, succeeding to the governorship on the death of Governor Jones in 1896. Sadler was then chosen governor for the term, 1898–1903. It has been very different with men of German descent, and no doubt, if the count were made very carefully, almost every state in the Union would show a man of German blood in its list of governors. The German blood has been represented among Pennsylvania's

[1] The two most successful native Germans in American political life, Carl Schurz and Gustav Schleicher, spoke faultless English. Most foreigners are unable to pronounce the English language without foreign accent, a serious handicap in public speaking and in a political career.

governors by Simon Snyder, Joseph Hiester, John A. Shulze, George Wolf, Joseph Ritner,[1] Francis Shunk, William Bigler, John F. Hartranft, James A. Beaver, and S. W. Pennypacker. Governor Bouck of New York has already been mentioned. There was Governor Kemper of Virginia; Werts and Frelinghuysen of New Jersey; Altgeld[2] of Illinois; Goebel, elected governor of Kentucky,[3] and assassinated; Treutlen, governor of Georgia

[1] Joseph Ritner, though a (Jacksonian) Democrat, was a pronounced abolitionist. His governor's message in 1836 inspired the poet Whittier to dedicate the poem "Ritner" to him, beginning: —

> "Thank God for the token! one lip is still free,
> One spirit untrammelled, unbending one knee.
> Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,
> Erect, when the multitude bends to the storm."

Governors Ritner, Shulze, and Wolf rendered their state conspicuous service through their advocacy and support of the public schools.

[2] John Peter Altgeld, born in Nassau, Germany, in 1847, was brought to America a few months later by his parents, who settled near Mansfield, Ohio. At the age of sixteen the boy entered the Union Army and fought until the end of the war. He settled in Missouri, taught school, and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1869, and was elected state's attorney for Andrew County, Missouri, in 1874. In the following year he removed to Chicago, soon acquired a large practice, and in 1886 was elected to the bench of the superior court as a Democrat, for a time serving as chief justice. In 1893 he was elected governor of Illinois, the first governor of foreign birth, and the first citizen of Chicago to hold that office in Illinois. It was the first time in forty years that the state had given a Democratic nominee the majority. During the first years of his administration the World's Columbian Exposition was held in Chicago. A railroad strike occurred in Chicago in the following year, during which President Cleveland sent federal troops to help restore order. Just as Altgeld had at the beginning of his administration pardoned the anarchists Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab, so he continued to be interested in the penal problems of the state, and succeeded in improving conditions, and establishing new reformatory institutions. In 1896 he was renominated for governor against his protests, and defeated. He was an advocate of free silver. In 1899 he was defeated as an independent candidate for mayor of Chicago. He died in 1902.

[3] The assassination threw all Kentucky into two camps and almost produced a state of civil war. The trials for the murder of Goebel were finally concluded only this year (1909).

in the revolutionary period; J. A. Quitman,[1] governor of Mississippi; H. J. Hagermann, governor of New Mexico; E. W. Hoch of Kansas (1905–1907); A. P. Swineford (father Pennsylvania-German), second governor of Alaska (1885–1889); Stephen Miller (grandfather Müller, born in Germany), third state governor of Minnesota.

As congressmen the native Germans have been more numerous. The following is a partial list of congressmen born in Germany, complete down to the Forty-eighth Congress,[2] with a few additions of more recent names. No attempt has been made to include the vast number of congressmen of German descent. Unless otherwise indicated the men named were members of the House of Representatives.

George Baer, Maryland, 1797–1801 and 1815–1817; Richard Bartholdt, Missouri, 1893–1911; George Louis Becker, Minnesota, 1857–1859; Joseph Bellinger, South Carolina, 1817–1819; Simon Börum, Continental Congress, 1774, 1775, 1777; Edward Breitung, Michigan, 1883–1885; Lorenz Brentano, Illinois, 1877–1881 (born in Mannheim, Baden); Friedrich Conrad, Pennsylvania, 1803–1807; Edward Degener (born in Brunswick), Texas, 1869–1871; Peter Victor Deuster (b. in Rhenish Prussia), Wisconsin, 1879–1883, reëlected Forty-Eighth Congress; Anton Eickhoff (born in Westphalia), New York, 1877–1881; Lucas Elmendorf, New York, 1797–1803; Wilhelm H. F. Fiedler, New Jersey, 1883–1885; G. A. Finkelnburg (Prussia), Missouri, 1869–1873; Alexander Gillon,[3]

[1] Cf. Volume I, pp. 519 ff.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiv, pp. 331–336. (Rattermann.)

[3] Gillon was born in 1741 at Rotterdam, while his parents, coming from Hessen, were on their way to America. Gillon was the first captain of the German Fusileers of Charlestown (1775), and subsequently admiral of the Southern fleet. He captured three English cruisers in 1777, sailed to France

South Carolina, 1793–1794; Richard Guenther (Prussia), Wisconsin, 1881–1889; Johann Hahn, Pennsylvania, 1815–1817; Michael Hahn[1] (Rhenish Prussia), Louisiana, 1863–1864; Julius Hausmann, Michigan, 1883–1885; Wilhelm Heilmann (Hessen-Darmstadt), Indiana, 1879–1883; Israel Jacobs, Pennsylvania, 1791–1793; Martin Kalbfleisch,[2] New York, 1863–1865; Johann J. Kleiner, 1883–1885; Jacob Krebs, Pennsylvania, 1826–1827; Wilhelm Ernst Lehmann (Saxony), Pennsylvania, 1861–1863; Michael Leib,[3] Pennsylvania, 1799–1806 (Senate of Pennsylvania until 1814); Leopold Morse [Maas] (born in Rhenish Palatinate), Massachusetts, 1877–1885; Nicholaus Müller, New York, 1877–1881, 1883–1885; Heinrich Pöhler (Lippe-Detmold), Minnesota, 1879–1881; Jacob Ried[4] (Baden), Continental Congress, 1783–1785; House, representing South Carolina, 1795–1801; David Ritchie [Rütschi] (German Swiss), Pennsylvania, 1853–1859; Johann Ritter, Pennsylvania, 1843–1847; Peter Saille [Sailer?] (Lotharingia), New York, 1805–1807; Benjamin Say, Pennsylvania, 1808–1809; Johann Jacob Scheuermann, New York, Continental Congress, 1786–1787; Gustav Schleicher (Darmstadt), Texas, 1875–1880; Jacob Schüremann, New Jersey, United States Senate, 1799–1801, House, 1789–1791, 1797–1799, and 1813–1815; Carl Schurz, Missouri (United States Senator), 1869–1875; Adam Seybert,[5] Pennsylvania, 1809–1815 and

in 1778, and in the frigate *South Carolina* took many prizes. In 1782 with a large fleet he made an expedition to the Bahama Islands, taking possession of them.

[1] Also elected governor of Louisiana, as mentioned above.

[2] Was later elected mayor of Brooklyn.

[3] Leib (Doctor of Medicine) was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia by President Madison.

[4] United States Judge, South Carolina, appointed by President Adams, 1801.

[5] Seybert was famous as a statistician.

1817–1819; Albert Smith [Schmidt] (b. Hanover), Maine, 1839–1841; Dietrich Smith [Schmidt] (Ostfriesland), Illinois, 1881–1883; Meyer Strouse [Straus] (b. Bavaria), Pennsylvania, 1863–1867; Wilhelm Ernst Strudwick, Maryland, 1796–1797; J. Swanwick, Pennsylvania, 1795–1798; Heinrich Wiesner, New York, Continental Congress, 1774–1776; Richard Heinrich Wilde[1] (Hamburg), Georgia, 1815–1835; Johann Joachim Zübly (Switzerland), Continental Congress, 1775–1776.

A few of the congressmen of German name of the present time are as follows: J. A. Beidler, Ohio, 1901–1907; John L. Brenner, Ohio, 1897–1901; Frederick George Bromberg, Alabama, 1873–1875; Charles N. Brumm, Pennsylvania, 1881–1889; 1895–1899; E. D. Crumpacker, Indiana, 1897–1909; R. C. De Graffenried, Texas, 1897–1902; Charles Henry Dietrich, Senator, Nebraska, 1901–1905; Charles H. Dickerman, Pennsylvania, 1903–1905; John J. Esch, Wisconsin, 1899–1911; Daniel Ermentrout, Pennsylvania, 1881–1889, 1897 to death in 1899; William Henry Flack, New York, 1903–1907; H. P. Goebel, Ohio, 1903–1911; J. V. Graff, Illinois, 1895–1911; B. Hermann, Oregon, 1905–1907; Charles N. Hildebrand, Ohio, 1901–1905; J. W. Keifer, Ohio, Speaker, 1881–1883, member, 1877–1885 and 1905–1911; Rudolph Kleberg, Texas, 1896–1903; Frank B. Klepper, Missouri, 1905–1907; Marcus C. L. Kline, Pennsylvania, 1903–1907; Theodore F. Kluttz, North Carolina, 1899–1905; Philip Knopf, Illinois, 1903–1909; Charles B. Landis, Indiana, 1897–1909; Frederick Landis, Indiana, 1903–1907; John J. Lentz, Ohio, 1897–

[1] Wilde was a prominent writer and poet (in the English language). He was born in the harbor of Dublin, his parents being on the way from Hamburg to America.

1901; Henry C. Loudenslager, New Jersey, 1893–1911; Adolph Meyer, Louisiana, 1891–1907; Warner Miller, New York, 1879–1883; William A. Rodenberg, Illinois, 1899–1900, 1903–1911; C. R. Schirm, Maryland, 1901–1903; Martin L. Smyser, Ohio, 1889–1891, 1905–1907; Frank C. Wachter, Maryland, 1899–1907.

Numerous also are the representatives of the German element as justices in the courts of the United States, e. g., H. Bischoff, E. B. Amend, and L. A. Giegerich (born in Bavaria), justices of the Supreme Court of New York; G. N. Lieber (son of Francis Lieber), Judge-Advocate-General, United States Army, 1895–1901 (late professor of law, United States Military Academy); G. A. Endlich, judge in Twenty-third District, Pennsylvania, since 1890; Henry Lamm, justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri; K. M. Landis (descended from Pennsylvania Mennonites), judge of the United States District Court, Illinois, since 1905, who imposed the fine of $29,000,000 upon the Standard Oil Company for accepting railroad rebates; Peter Stenger Grosscup, judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, who annulled the $29,000,000 fine in 1908; and many others.[1]

The precious gifts of high office are treasures which the native population with some degree of justification yields only to its own stock. Rare ability and the pressure of necessity have sometimes, though very infrequently, produced an exception, as in the case of the

[1] Judge Landis's fearless and terrible judgment, imposing the maximum penalty upon the guilty corporation, has undoubtedly had the effect of proving that no one is above the law. Judge Grosscup, in reversing the decision and granting a new trial (naming the maximum penalty, $720,000, i. e., $20,000 on each of thirty-six counts instead of fourteen hundred and sixty-two counts), has greatly contributed to restoring confidence in the financial world.

great financier, Albert Gallatin, the Anti-Federalist (born in Switzerland, of an ancient, possibly French, noble family), and Carl Schurz, the brilliant orator and uncompromising reformer. That portion of the German element which for at least one generation has become a part of the American stock has a far better opportunity of election to the highest offices. Thus a Mühlenberg was Speaker of the first House of Representatives, and a brother of his, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania during Franklin's administration. Michael Hillegas (1728–1804),[1] a merchant of Philadelphia, whose father was one of the very early German immigrants, became treasurer of Congress, 1775–1789, one of the most difficult and responsible positions that the young nation had to fill. The German element has been represented at different times by members of the cabinet, as William Wirt,[2]

[1] Michael Hillegas, successful business man, engaged in sugar-refining and possessed of means, threw the entire weight of his influence on the patriotic side. In June, 1774, he became treasurer of the Committee of Safety, of which Benjamin Franklin was president. The Continental Congress in 1775 appointed him treasurer of the United States, a position which he held for fourteen years, until the inauguration of Washington in 1789. The period of his service was the most trying in the history of our country, when the treasury was drained from many quarters without adequate means to replenish its funds. In 1782 Hillegas, on the order of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, published the proceedings of the state convention, together with many national documents, e. g., the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, etc., a compilation of great historical value.

[2] Wirt's father was born in Switzerland and his mother in Würtemberg. His parents died while he was young, and he was cared for by an uncle. He was admitted to the bar in 1792, and opened an office at Culpeper Court House, Virginia. Being naturally vivacious, and of agreeable personality, he was thrown in with the gay young element of the state, and soon had the reputation of a *bon vivant*. But he settled down to a sober life of study, preparing him to meet such opponents as Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and Daniel Webster. He went to Richmond in 1799, and met there all the great men of the state and occupied various offices. In 1807, by President Jefferson's appointment, he was a counsel in the trial of Aaron Burr. One

the celebrated Southern orator and prosecutor of Aaron Burr, who was Attorney-General of the United States for the unusual period of twelve years, under Presidents Monroe and Adams, from 1817 to 1829; F. T. Frelinghuysen was Secretary of State, 1881–1885, in General Arthur's cabinet; John Wanamaker was Postmaster-General in Harrison's cabinet, 1889–1893; Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior under Hayes; the cabinet of President Taft includes at the present time three men of German descent: George von Lengerke-Meyer, Secretary of the Navy (born in Boston of North-German parentage, ambassador to Italy, 1900–1905, to Russia in 1905, Postmaster-General under President Roosevelt); Richard A. Ballinger (born in Iowa of German parentage, mayor of Seattle, commissioner of the General Land Office), Secretary of the Interior; Charles Nagel (born in Texas of German parents, who in 1883 migrated to St. Louis), Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Christopher Gustavus Memminger, born in Würtemberg in 1803, was the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States appointed by President Davis. He had been treasurer[1] of South Carolina under Governor Pickens.

of his speeches, lasting four hours, is one of the most admired oratorical efforts of his life. Its florid style and periodic structure made it a great favorite for academic declamation. In 1816 he was appointed by President Madison United States District Attorney for Virginia, and under Presidents Monroe and Adams he served as Attorney-General, 1817–1829, holding the latter position with great repute, and being ranked "among the ablest and most eloquent of the bar of the Supreme Court" (Judge Story). William Wirt was given the degree of LL.D. from Harvard in 1824; he removed to Baltimore in 1829, and died in 1834. Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi, p. 86.

[1] He was conspicuous as a reformer of the schools of the state. Upon the base of his bust in the council chamber of Charleston is the inscription: "Christopher Gustavus Memminger, founder of the present public school system of Charleston. In grateful appreciation of his services for thirty-three years."

Memminger had one of the most difficult offices among all Confederate appointments. Although dissatisfaction with the government was expressed on all sides, and accusations came fast, he nevertheless emerged with an honorable name and reputation.[1] Among early financiers there should also be named Michael Hillegas, mentioned above as treasurer of Pennsylvania and of Congress during the Revolutionary period.

The highest office in the gift of the people of the United States has never been filled by a man of pure German blood. There have been two presidents of Dutch descent, Martin Van Buren and Theodore Roosevelt. The Dutch are racially as much a part of the German element as any other of the unmixed Low-German stocks from Pomerania, Hamburg, or Bremen, but their history, for practical reasons, has not been included in this work. A theory has been advanced to the effect that the ancestry of Abraham Lincoln was German, based upon the fact that his grandfather's name appears on a Land Office treasury warrant (No. 3334) as Abraham Linkhorn.[2] The

[1] A favorite plan of his was to join Charleston and Cincinnati with a railroad, which he took up again in 1874.

[2] The argument was first made by Mr. L. P. Hennighausen, a most diligent and successful investigator of the historical records of the Germans in Maryland (author of the *History of the German Society of Maryland*). A facsimile of the land warrant, contained in the Land Office at Richmond, is printed in Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, vol. i, p. 10 (see also p. 14), and reprinted in the *Eleventh and Twelfth Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, pp. 37–42. The name Abraham Linkhorn is very clearly and distinctly written, and reappears, moreover, in Record Book B, p. 60, in the office of Jefferson County, Kentucky, on a surveyor's certificate, May 7, 1785. Abraham Linkhorn was a man of some means and education, was killed by the Indians, and his son Thomas, father of the sixteenth president of the United States, grew up without schooling or paternal care amid coarse frontier surroundings. The name Linkhorn could not, as has been conjectured, be a clerical error for Lincoln. The very recent genealogical investigation by J. H. Lea and J. R. Hutchinson, *The Ancestry*

discovery has occasioned a controversy which is by no means clearly settled.

There remain to be considered before closing this chapter a number of coöperative efforts made by the German element to represent a cause or establish a political influence. The first instance of such a movement came from abroad, as was shown in foregoing chapters,[1] an attempt to form German states within the territory of the United States. It was before the Civil War, when Europeans generally considered the United States a complex whose component parts might at any moment disjoin and form separate sovereign principalities. The Germans thought that by concentrating their immigration on particular states, such Germanized states might in time separate from the Union if they did not get just what they wanted. The first attempt at concentrated immigration occurred in 1835, when the "Giessener Gesellschaft" was founded; Missouri reaped the benefits of it. About a decade later the "Adelsverein" sent thousands of German colonists into Texas; and lastly an immigration was concentrated

of Abraham Lincoln (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), takes no account of the "Linkhorn document," which omission destroys its value in the controversy. It attempts to give a very complete genealogical chain, leading through Massachusetts ancestry back to a family of Lincolns in England. Abraham Lincoln did not know of any connection with the Massachusetts family, but said that his ancestors had come from Berks County, Pennsylvania, migrated to Rockingham County, Virginia, and thence to Kentucky, and that his people were non-combatants. The latter would mean that they were sectarians,— Mennonites or Quakers. Both Berks County, Pennsylvania, and Rockingham County, Virginia, were German counties, and the Census of 1790 gives several instances of the name Linkhorn in the German counties of Pennsylvania. On the tax-lists of the county of Northumberland, 1778–80, and 1786, appear the names Hannaniah Linkhorn and Michael Linkhorn, respectively; Jacob Linkhorn is named on the tax-lists of the county of Philadelphia in 1769. Cf. *Pennsylvania Archives*, vols. xiv and xix.

[1] Volume I, Chapters XIV and XV, "Settlement of Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas."

upon Wisconsin. But none of these states developed into what the German promoters had hoped for them. They received a large German population, to be sure; but still were outnumbered by the rest of the inhabitants taken together.

Another instance of concerted effort occurred with the advent of the "Forty-eighters." Some of these, by no means a majority, were frenzied dreamers in matters of politics. A "Republikanischer Freiheitsverein" was founded in Pittsburg in May, 1848, which was largely attended, and the purpose of which was in part political, and in part philanthropical; the latter principally in regard to supporting the German refugees of the revolutionary period. A similar demonstration was made in Cincinnati, and a fair was held to raise money in support of the revolutionary movement in Germany. Women were more active than men in this undertaking. Belleville, in Illinois, and Glasgow, in Missouri, in 1849 held bazaars and the like for the same purpose. The patriot Kinkel (whom Schurz had rescued from prison at Spandau) traveled through the United States making speeches in his brilliant manner, and arousing the Germans to favor the cause. Kinkel's idea was to float a loan of two million dollars in the United States, to be used in support of a second revolution in Germany. The collections were made in large and small amounts, even in one- and five-cent pieces. But the enthusiasm was over by 1852. Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, had been in America before Kinkel, and started a similar undertaking for the support of revolution abroad. The precedent of Kossuth's previous efforts aided Kinkel's undertaking in some quarters, but hindered him in others.

The most fantastic of all the extravagant schemes of that revolutionary period in America was the so-called "Wheeling Congress." The plan was that of Goepp, a

young "Stürmer und Dränger," who published a book "E Pluribus Unum," which was to electrify mankind with the idea of a world republic, of which the United States were to be the hub. All the countries of the world were to be annexed to the United States. The United States would in course of time be Germanized, that is, yield to the influence of German ideas and culture. The so-called German ideas were largely the weird ideas of the founders, such for instance as presented in the book published by Goepp and Poesche, called "The New Rome."[1] The Wheeling Congress met in September, 1852, and was to advance the ideas of Goepp. There were over a thousand revolutionary societies in existence, but only sixteen delegates responded to the call. Philadelphia, Boston, Roxbury, Albany, Troy, and Pittsburg were represented. Chicago's Germans were not much in evidence, and Milwaukee's delegates, in spite of mass meetings that had been very successful, did not appear. Queer resolutions were adopted at this meeting, such as to abolish the Presidency and the two Houses of Congress, even the government by states. Marriage was to be abolished, and children were to be trained by the state. Money was to be done away with, and a progressive system of taxation instituted, by which it would be impossible for the rich to possess over a certain amount. The right of inheritance was to be cast away, slavery was to be abolished, and poor children were to be clothed and fed at the public expense. Similar socialistic, anarchistic, and humanitarian resolutions were passed at the beer benches of revolutionary societies in many leading cities of the country, e. g., in Cincinnati,

[1] Published by G. P. Putnam, New York, 1853. It was dedicated to Franklin Pierce, President of the United States. The secondary title was "The United States of the World."

Baltimore, and Richmond, but we should not take them too seriously. The Wheeling Congress has been given exaggerated importance by writers on German-American history. When we remember that only sixteen people came together, hardly more than could be seated around two tables at the Kneipe, and that those were mostly young, inexperienced enthusiasts, with half-baked notions on politics and society, we ought to refrain from severe condemnation. None of the great leaders who figured prominently in the succeeding political campaigns were present, and if they did identify themselves with the revolutionary societies, they very soon discovered their folly and futility, and withdrew from them.[1]

The older generations, the refugees of the thirties, represented by such men as Gustav Körner ("Der graue Gustav"), Friedrich Münch, and others did not countenance the movement from the beginning, and their conservatism had a salutary effect. At succeeding conventions, and there followed several, such as that of 1854 in Cincinnati, platforms were adopted in which the opposition to slavery became the main plank, together with defensive measures against the Know-nothing movement. These two principles, and particularly the first, became the leading subjects for discussion by the Germans in the epoch immediately preceding the Civil War.

The Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party

Socialism in American politics has been most thoroughly under German influence.[2] Before the Civil War, and

[1] For an account of the revolutionary societies, their ideas and doings, cf. T. S. Baker, *America as the Political Utopia of Young Germany*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, pp. 62–102. (1897.) Cf. also *Der deutsche Pionier*, vols. vii and viii.

[2] For a history of the subject, see the following works: Morris Hillquit,

beginning about 1848, the movement was begun and confined almost entirely to German immigrants, mainly of the working-class. The real founder was Wilhelm Weitling, born at Magdeburg in 1808, a man of magnetic personality and great ability as a speaker and writer.[1] As a journeyman-tailor he became widely acquainted in European cities, and in the forties was the most influential figure in the numerous colonies of German workmen in the capitals of Switzerland, France, Belgium, and England. He was a connecting link between the old type, the utopian critic of society, and the modern aggressive reformer. Weitling was invited to America in 1846 by a group of German Free-Soilers, who desired him to take charge of their journal, the "Volkstribun," the publication of which was suspended, however, before his arrival. A year later, when rumors of revolution came from Germany, Weitling returned to take part, but after the collapse of Liberty's cohorts, he appeared again in New York, now actively engaged in advocating social reforms. The Central Committee of United Trades was organized in New York in 1850, consisting of delegates of labor organizations, representing about twenty-five hundred members. The "Republik der Arbeiter," a weekly paper, in 1851 became the organ of the movement; their mass

History of Socialism in the United States (Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1903); Hermann Schlüter, "*Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1907); A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Der Moderne Socialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten* (1890); R. T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (1886), and *Socialism and Social Reform* (1894); F. A. Sorge, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten, 1867–1877* (Neue Zeit, no. 13, 1891–1892).

[1] *The World as it is and as it should be* (*Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und sein soll*), 1839; *The Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom* (*Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*), 1842; *Evangel of a Poor Sinner* (*Evangelium der armen Sünder*), 1846.

meetings and pamphlets attracted the attention of the American press, and enlisted the coöperation of workingmen of other nationalities. Of great importance in the history of socialism in the United States is the first national convention of German workmen, in Philadelphia, called together by the "Republik," October 22–28. Ten leading cities of the East and West and forty-two organizations were represented. Weitling's favorite idea of the "exchange bank" was indorsed, an institution in which each producer could deposit his product in the central depot, and receive in exchange a paper certificate of equivalent value, which would enable him to purchase, up to its face value, any articles at cost in the bank store. The idea of industries coöperating in support of the institution was the original part of the scheme. But Weitling provoked antagonism by his irritating self-assertion, and withdrew from public life, accepting a position as clerk in the Bureau of Immigration. The "Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund" declined until, in the middle of the fifties, new life was infused by Joseph Weydemeyer, a personal friend of the great socialists Marx and Engels in Germany, and an ardent student of scientific socialism. Weydemeyer strove to introduce the doctrines of Karl Marx into the Workingmen's League, delivering many lectures in German and in English. The league made the mistake in 1858 of electing to the editorship of its new weekly magazine, the "Social Republic" ("Soziale Republik"), the well-known revolutionist and political visionary, Gustav Struve, under whose influence the league again declined.

During the same period an influence toward the spread of socialistic doctrines were the Turner organizations, which were primarily gymnastic or athletic organizations, but, as in Germany also, always had political lean-

ings.[1] The Turners affiliated with the Free-Soil Party, and subsequently became members of the new-born Republican Party; some of the organizations expected some time to form an independent Socialist Party in the United States. In 1850, the same year that the convention of the "Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund" was called by Weitling, the Turners met and organized the "Vereinigte Turnvereine Nordamerikas," the name of which was changed the following year to "Socialistischer Turnerbund." A "Communist Club" was organized in New York in 1857, whose principles were more philosophical than reformatory or aggressive.[2] They attracted public attention in 1858, when they arranged a brilliant commemoration festival of the Revolution of 1848; at the mass meeting, which was attended by all national elements, F. A. Sorge and Fr. Kamm spoke for the Germans.

The abolition of slavery was one of the demands of all German socialistic societies, and when the war became imminent, they volunteered in such numbers as to destroy all other interests. "The Turners from every quarter," says Professor Ely, "responded to Lincoln's call for troops, some of the unions sending more than one half of their numbers. In New York they organized a complete regiment in a few days, and in many places they sent one or more companies. There were three companies in the First Missouri Regiment, while the Seventeenth consisted almost altogether of Turners. It is estimated that from forty to fifty per cent of all Turners capable of bearing arms took part in the war." Others prominent in the ranks of the Socialists that took part on the Union side were

[1] A more detailed account of their work and extent will be given below, in Chapter VIII.

[2] Cf. Schlüter, *Deutsche Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (*Der Kommunistenklub*), pp. 160–162.

Joseph Weydemeyer, August Willich (member of the Communistic League of London with Marx and Engel), both of whom have a distinguished war record, Robert Rosa (Prussian officer), Fritz Jacobi (eloquent member of the New York Communistic Club), Alois Tillbach, and Dr. Beust, all of whom also inspired others with their example. The war so much thinned the ranks of the socialists that no further steps in the movement took place until 1867.

The next period of the socialistic movement was one of organization, and it stood under the guidance of the International Workingmen's Association (popularly known as the "International"), organized at London, in 1864. Almost every revolutionary society of Europe had a representative at that time in London, prominent among whom were the Italian patriot Mazzini, and the Germans Frederick Engels, and Karl Marx, the father of modern socialism. The latter's draft of a constitution and declaration of principles was accepted. The platform[1] included the principle that the emancipation of the working-class must be accomplished by the working-class itself, and that their emancipation would depend upon the solidarity of the various branches of labor coöperating in all civilized countries. The "International" established a direct influence in the United States by the founding of "sections" in New York City (1868), Chicago, and San Francisco. Most of the original members were Germans, but after 1871 the sections grew to thirty or more, and the number of enrolled members to about five thousand, composed also of Americans and Europeans of all nations. The leading spirit of the American sections of the "International"

[1] It is reproduced in an abstract by Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, pp. 178 ff.

was F. A. Sorge, the general secretary, a "Forty-eighter," friend and co-worker of Marx and Engels. The "International" also exerted an influence indirectly through the National Labor Union, which had grown up on American soil independently, in consequence of labor agitation and organization. At the first convention, held in Baltimore, in 1866, to unite organized labor, a German socialist of the Lassallean school, Edward Schlegel, representing the German Workingmen's Association of Chicago, was the first to propose the formation of an independent political labor party. Although his suggestion was not carried into effect, Schlegel's eloquent address made so deep an impression on the delegates that they elected him vice-president-at-large in "appreciation of his views and abilities."[1] The plan of forming a political labor party out of the National Labor Union was taken up by the American, William H. Sylvis, but he died (1869) before he could give his Labor Reform Party a solid foundation. The Labor Reform Party was supported by the German trades-unions in New York City through their organ, the "Arbeiter Union." This paper published the proceedings of the "International," and during Dr. Adolph Douai's editorship, came more and more under the influence of socialism. Douai[2] was one of the most brilliant of the political

[1] Hillquit, p. 184.

[2] Douai, born in Altenburg, Germany, in 1819, received an excellent education preparing him for the career of teacher. Taking an active part in the revolution of 1848, he was imprisoned, and soon after emigrated, arriving in Texas in 1852. He founded a small paper at San Antonio, for which he did all the work himself, often working one hundred hours a week. Since the paper was devoted to the cause of abolition, Douai was compelled to leave, after a three years' struggle, during which he suffered many persecutions. The negroes of Texas always kept him in grateful memory, and in 1868 sent him a copy of a newspaper with the following announcement in bold type: "This paper, edited and set by negroes, is being printed on the same press from which Dr. Douai for the first time advocated the emancipation of the

refugees of 1848, and subsequent to his editorship of the "Arbeiter Union," became one of the leading exponents of the socialism of Marx in the United States, in the capacity of editor of the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," 1878–1888.

After several preliminary steps in organization, a political party representing Marxian socialism, held its second convention in December, 1877, at Newark, New Jersey, and adopted the name, "Socialist Labor Party of North America" (its first name was "Workingman's Party"). The "Socialist" (editor, J. P. McDonnell), the "Sozial Demokrat" (editor, C. Conzett), and the "Vorbote" (editor, Harbinger) were to be the official organs of the party, and A. Douai was to be made assistant editor of all three papers.[1] For twenty years the Socialist Labor Party remained the dominant factor in the socialist movement of the United States. The membership was mostly foreign, largely German, and, feeling the ineffectiveness of such a condition, the party strove consistently to Americanize itself. Two plans of action were adopted, one to seek influence with the labor unions, the other to go directly to the polls as an independent party. The former involved the

negroes in Texas. Let this serve him as a token of gratitude of the colored race that they preserve the memory of his efforts for their freedom." Hillquit, p. 191.

[1] Between 1876 and 1877 about twenty-four papers supported the party; of these, eight were in the English language (one a daily, seven weeklies), fourteen were printed in German (seven of them dailies — Chicago *Sozialist* and Chicago *Volkszeitung; Volksstimme des Westens* (St. Louis); *Neue Zeit* (Louisville); Philadelphia *Tageblatt; Vorwaerts* (Newark); *Ohio Volkszeitung* (Cincinnati). The Bohemians and the Scandinavians each had a weekly socialistic paper. In 1878 a new daily, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, was established in the interests of socialism and trades-unions. With brilliant editors such as Alexander Jonas, Dr. Douai, and, at the death of the latter, Hermann Schlüter, the *Volkszeitung* at once assumed the leadership of the socialist movement, and has kept it to the present day.

danger of the loss of the party's socialistic principles, the latter, because of the ridiculously small vote gained at the polls, seemed to prove that their efforts would be useless. During the crusades against the socialists in Germany in 1878, following the attempted assassination of the Emperor William I, a number of recruits came to America, reviving somewhat the drooping spirits of the Socialist Labor Party. In 1881 the Social Democratic Party of Germany (which drove Bismarck into the adoption of the beneficent compulsory insurance laws against accident, invalidism, etc.), sent two representatives to America to acquaint German-Americans with the conditions existing under the severe anti-socialist laws. The men chosen were two socialist deputies in the German Reichstag, Louis Viereck[1] and F. W. Fritsche, popular speakers, who were warmly welcomed by large audiences at mass meetings held in New York, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other cities. The tour of the German deputies, though that had not been the purpose, revived considerably the public interest in the socialistic theories. But when the foreigners had departed, the party again lost enthusiasm.

At this time anarchism, the denial of all social progress, appeared in the United States, as a great danger to the Socialist Labor Party. Any organization of society, even if based upon absolute equality, is to anarchism as baneful as centralized power, for it interferes with the exercise of unchecked personal liberty, and the absolute sovereignty of the individual. John Most (born at Augsburg in 1846) appeared on the scene in 1882, a "martyr" of the cause, having just completed a sixteen months'

[1] The present editor (and founder) of the monthly journal, *Der deutsche Vorkämpfer, Monatsschrift für deutsche Kultur in Amerika.* (New York.)

sentence at hard labor in London for an article in his paper congratulating the Nihilists on the assassination of Alexander II. From his infancy fate had always been against him, casting him about from a cruel stepmother to a worse employer, forcing him to struggle hard for an education, then, when inspired with the socialistic principles of the "International," throwing him into prison successively in Austria, Saxony, Prussia, and England. With all the greater force did he flourish the torch of anarchy and hurl his threats at society. He now started a revolutionary blaze from city to city before enthusiastic mass meetings in the United States. The result was a convention at Pittsburg in 1883, a proclamation of "communistic anarchism," and the formation of a central group at Chicago. Then came the Haymarket tragedy in 1886 as a great calamity for the anarchists. It was during a period of strikes and labor agitation. The initiative of George A. Schilling had caused the organization of the Eight Hour Association of Chicago, and the ablest orators of the anarchists had become the most popular speakers advocating this movement. The police force had infuriated the mob by a wanton destruction of the lives of six or more strikers, which was followed by Spies's proclamation of revenge, and a mass meeting at night in the Haymarket. After the speeches were over, and the crowd for the most part dispersed, the blundering police made an attack on those remaining, when from an adjoining alley a bomb was thrown by some person unknown. It may have been done by some one to revenge the murders committed by the policemen. The explosion of the bomb caused the death of one policeman and the wounding of many more. An indiscriminate firing began at once, as a result of which seven policemen were killed and about sixty wounded,

while on the laborers' side four were killed and about fifty wounded. The entire blame fell upon the anarchists, and the grand jury indicted the leading members, August Spies (German), Albert R. Parsons (native American), Samuel Fielden (English), Adolph Fischer (German), Michael Schwab (German), George Engel (German), Louis Lingg (German name), O. W. Neebe (native American), R. Schnaubelt (German name), and William Seliger (?) for the murder of the policeman who was killed by the bomb. Of these Schnaubelt escaped, Seliger proved the Judas of the company, turned state's evidence, and was granted immunity. The public clamored for the lives of the anarchists, the press advocated it, and after a farcical trial, in which absolutely no participation in the throwing of the bomb could be proved against any one of the anarchists (three of them had not been at the Haymarket meeting at all), the court found them guilty of murder and sentenced them to death.[1] The Supreme Court of the State confirmed the judgment of the lower court, and the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed the appeal on the ground that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter. Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were hanged in November, 1887, Schwab and Fielden appealed to the governor, and their sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.[2]

Though the trial of the anarchists was "the grossest travesty on justice ever perpetrated in an American court,"[3] still the anarchists had been most violent in their revolu-

[1] Except Neebe, who was sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years.

[2] Six years later Governor Altgeld granted an absolute pardon to Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab, on the grounds that "the judge was biased, the jury packed, the defendants not proven guilty, the trial illegal." *The National Cyclopœdia of American Biography*, vol. xi, p. 51.

[3] Hillquit, p. 250.

tionary agitation, and were felt to have been a menace to society. Such prompt and sweeping punishment cut away the very roots of anarchism in this country, and the good effect was also felt by the Socialist Labor Party, who were rid of their dangerous internal enemy. The further history of the latter party showed a struggle between two factions, the one advocating alliance with labor unions and attempting to form an independent political party in spite of defeat at the polls, the other, conservative, arguing upon the futility of entering the political field, resenting Americanization, and counseling refusal to vote with any party until the time should be ripe for their socialistic theories. The former faction entered various alliances at different times until they formed a permanent union with the Social Democratic Party, of which the labor leader Eugene V. Debs and the German socialist Victor L. Berger[1] were the principal organizers. This party after the union was renamed the Socialist Party, though in some states the name Social Democratic Party remains in use. The other faction of the Socialist Labor Party remained conservative, and retained the name Socialist Labor Party.

Of the two, the Socialist Party has been the most successful at the polls, securing nearly two hundred and fifty thousand votes in the congressional elections of 1902, while the Socialist Labor Party received only about fifty thousand. In spite of the fact that the party was almost as successful as the Free Soil Party in 1848, which got about three hundred thousand votes, and elected a number of congressmen, the Socialist Party, being too well distrib-

[1] Victor L. Berger, of German parentage, was born in Austria in 1860. He has been editor of the Milwaukee *Daily Vorwaerts* since 1892, and has been untiring in his efforts to organize the Social Democratic Party. His party has been very successful in Wisconsin, holding eighteen offices in the state in 1907. Berger is very popular in Milwaukee.

uted over the whole country, has never been represented in Congress.[1] The party has been more successful in local politics, electing its candidates for mayor in the Massachusetts shoe-towns of Brockton and Haverhill; also in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and Anaconda, Montana. Councilmen and aldermen were elected in a number of towns in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, Indiana, Montana, and Colorado, and it seems therefore, that the Socialist Party is to prove its usefulness first in municipal reform.

National German-American Alliance

Within the last decades the Germans have made a successful attempt at uniting all the German clubs of the United States, whether social, musical, gymnastic, military, or political, into one large national organization. The movement began in the original home of Germanism, the state of Pennsylvania, and in its ancient stronghold, Philadelphia, where a union of all the German societies of the state was effected in the year 1899. Since then the organization has grown into the so-called "National German-American Alliance," which includes societies of every city, state, and territory of the United States where there is a German population. The membership is about a million and a half. A platform adopted at one of the early conventions of the society plainly states the purposes of the organization. They are as follows: To increase the feeling of unity in the German element of the United States; to pursue worthy aims which do not run counter to good citizenship; to oppose nativistic influences; to cultivate a spirit of cordiality between America and the Fatherland; to investigate the history of the German im-

[1] Cf. Hillquit, pp. 341 ff.

migrations and their influences in America. The purpose is not to found a German state within the United States, or to meddle with party politics, yet to defend principles, even if they be in the political field. Questions of religion are to be excluded. The German language is recommended for introduction into the public schools; for the cultivation of the body (a sound mind must dwell in a sound body), gymnastic work. Public schools are to be divorced from politics and to be totally removed from political influences. Germans are exhorted to become naturalized citizens as soon as possible, and never to fail in or neglect their duties as voters. Opposition is to be made against laws which put needless difficulties in the way of obtaining the rights of citizenship (character and reputation to stand above the ability to answer test questions). Opposition is planned against restriction of the immigration of Europeans in good health, with the exception of the criminal class. The repeal of laws which run counter to the modern spirit is to be striven for, viz., such as restrict free communication (Sunday laws) and the personal liberty of the citizen (prohibition legislation). Additional aims are: the cultivation of German influence and literature by means of schools, lectures, etc.; investigation of the Germans' share in the history of the United States in peace and war, together with all phases of German-American activity. Such are the main features of the platform of the German-American Alliance. The object on the whole is to preserve and unite what is best in German culture and character, and devote it to the best interests of the adopted country. The principle, therefore, which Carl Schurz and Friedrich Münch announced for the Germans in America — namely, that they become American citizens as quickly as possible, without, however, losing their culture and

character — has won in our own day. The old fantastic schemes of building separate German states, or influencing American politics for selfish interests, have been buried forever. Germany also recognizes this fact, but she may console herself for the loss of so many of her people by taking pride in their achievements in the United States.

In the present outline of the German influence in American politics, it has been shown that, while the German element had little to do with the framing of the Constitution of the United States, it had a great deal to do with the defense and development of the republican form of government which the Constitution founded. In all the important political issues that have been progressive in the nineteenth century the German element has been influential: (1) the abolition of slavery; (2) the reform of the civil service; (3) the upholding of the sound-money standard; (4) party reforms; (5) peace congresses; (6) questions of personal liberty; (7) independent voting. Some of the typical German figures in American politics have been: Carl Schurz, Francis Lieber, Samuel W. Pennypacker, William Bouck, Philipp Dorschheimer, Friedrich Münch, J. A. Wagener, Gustav Schleicher, Michael Hahn. A list of United States congressmen born in Germany, and a partial list of recent congressmen of German descent was given to illustrate the large German representation in American public life. The Socialist Party throughout its history has been under German influence, and has shown usefulness in municipal reform movements. The platform of the German-American Alliance is typical of the patriotic and progressive attitude taken by the German element in regard to the nation's best interests.

CHAPTER V

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Introductory — Four periods: (1) 1683–1800: German schools and teachers in the eighteenth century; Franklin College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania — (2) 1800–1825: American students at German universities; Ticknor and Everett; Cogswell and the Round Hill School, Northampton, Massachusetts; influence of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg; Beck and Follen — (3) 1825–1875: first professorship of German at Harvard, 1825 — Various German influences; reports of Griscom, Bache, Stowe, V. Cousin — The state universities — Educational revival produced by Horace Mann; his travels in Germany, and reports — Normal schools; Henry Barnard — Herbartian doctrines — Cornell University, technical education; schools of forestry — (4) 1876 to present time: Johns Hopkins University, graduate studies — German university system transplanted — The German element represented in university faculties — The kindergarten — Plan of a German seminary at Philippsburg — German private schools — Teaching of German in the United States — Union of teachers — Reform in modern language teaching — Vocational teaching — German ideals of higher education.

THE German influence on education in the United States has been profound. While the German element living in this country has been active in the progressive educational movements of the nineteenth century, nevertheless the greater part in establishing German methods in American education has been done by the Americans themselves. Though living under the spell of English and French traditions, they went all over Europe in search of the best models for their educational institutions, and found them in Germany. The basis and the superstructure of our American educational system, the elementary school, inclusive of the kindergarten, and the university, were cre-

ated under German influence. The college has been fashioned after the English pattern, with adaptations; the secondary schools have been under various influences, partly German.

In presenting the history of German educational influences, it is convenient to mark off four chronological periods: (1) the eighteenth century; (2) the first quarter of the nineteenth century; (3) the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century; (4) from 1876 to the present time. The first and second are hardly to be considered periods of influence; in the first, German schools existed primarily for the Germans themselves, with slight influence only on other elements of the population; within the second came the dawn of interest in things German and the beginning of the exodus of American students to the German universities. The date 1825 is chosen for the beginning of the third period, because in that year the first appointment of a professor of German took place at an American college, Harvard leading in the movement. The next fifty years were the formative period in the building of the American educational system, and German influences increased until they reached the high-water mark in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when by the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876 the German university was transplanted to American soil.

First period: the eighteenth century

The earliest instance of intellectual exchange between Germany and New England was the correspondence of Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke. The Boston theologian in 1709 sent a collection of one hundred and sixty books and tracts on pietism to Halle, and also several sums of money collected in support of the

philanthropic work of the German reformer. Francke's reply was a Latin letter of sixty-nine pages, describing fully the work of the Halle institutions. Cotton Mather at once printed an appreciative account of Francke's work ("Nuncia bona terra longinqua"), and planned the establishment of some similar institution in Massachusetts. The epistolary intercourse between New England and Germany was continued for another generation, for the sons of Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke continued the correspondence. Francke's example unquestionably had an influence on the establishment of Bethesda College in Savannah, Georgia, by George Whitefield, who planned this "Orphan-Home," in accordance with the principles laid down by Francke. "God can help us in Georgia," he writes in 1742, "as well as he helped Professor Franck(e) in Germany." [1]

In the eighteenth century the schools of the Germans were parochial. The religious denominations commonly took care of the schooling of their children, and the ministers were commonly the teachers. This was true throughout Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and elsewhere. Sometimes teachers were imported from Germany; when no minister could be secured, teachers often served also as readers of the Scriptures or of sermons, and many of them, as Ulmer in Maine, Schley in Maryland, Holzklo in Virginia, Arndt in North Carolina, were the leading spirits of their colonies. In the parochial schools the German language was taught, frequently to the exclusion of the English.[2] But that was by no means a com-

[1] Kuno Francke, *Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke, Harvard Studies*, vol. v, pp. 66–67. Cf. also Kuno Francke, *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, no. 4, *Further Documents concerning Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke.*

[2] Undoubtedly the use of the German language more than any other cir-

mon practice. In those early days reading and writing formed the basis of an education; to be well grounded in the Bible, and to be able to write a good hand, gained admittance anywhere, including the legislatures. Among the German teachers there were some who stood head and shoulders above their surroundings, men of German university training who compared favorably with the best scholars of their time. Such, for instance, was Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, the friend of William Penn. He was the first German teacher in America, serving in the English Quaker School in Philadelphia, 1698–1700, and taking charge of the first German school, established in 1702 in the Germantown settlement. The latter was supported in part by scholars' fees, in part by voluntary contributions, and possessed two features that have played a prominent part in the history of American schools, — it was coeducational, and it added a night school for those that labored during the day or were too far advanced in age for the day school. The personality and achievements of Pastorius have been described in a previous chapter.[1]

Every German sect had its schools, — the Mennonites, for instance, as early as 1706 founded an institution where Christopher Dock afterward educated the young. This pioneer teacher, who labored devotedly in his profession for more than half a century (1714–1771), instituted the law of love in place of the rule of force which was holding undisputed sway in all contemporary schools. He introduced the blackboard into the American school-room, and in 1750 wrote, though with difficulty persuaded to do so, his

cumstance caused the reproach of ignorance by the native element. A person that does not speak the language of the country fluently, is in the popular estimation, uneducated.

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter II, pp. 43–45.

remarkable book on school-teaching, called "Schulordnung," and printed by Christopher Sauer. Christopher Dock's book is the first pedagogical work published in America, and reveals the author's beautiful character and his insight into human nature.[1] His school order advised not only the training of children in their studies, but demanded also their instruction in righteousness. Morality, conduct, and scholarship were the order in which these educational elements were instilled. If at this period the three R's were taught, a fourth, religion, was never omitted and was generally placed at the beginning. The Schwenkfelders were noted as teachers in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Moravians established schools at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lititz, and also academies for young women, which were patronized by the native as well as the German population, and drew pupils from every one of the colonies. The Lutheran and Reformed German churches, being most numerous, naturally established the most schools throughout the territory of German settlements. Mühlenberg and Schlatter, once students of Francke at Halle, did much to improve the schools. But even earlier than they, between 1720 and 1740, there were good scholars, as Boehm, Weisz, Stiefel, Hock, and Leutbecker, all teaching in Pennsylvania, and all of them of good German training.[2] Christopher Sauer, the printer and publisher, took a prominent interest in German schools, particularly in the Union School, the Germantown Academy, founded in 1761.

[1] Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, superintendent of schools in Philadelphia, has collected and translated the works of Christopher Dock, with a sketch of his life, and illustrations showing some of his school-room furniture. Published by Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1908.

[2] Cf. Learned, *The Teaching of German in Pennsylvania*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. ii (1898–1899), no. 2, p. 73. Weisz was a graduate of the University of Heidelberg.

Benjamin Franklin was interested in the education of the Germans, particularly in their acquirement of the English language. His motives were both political and philanthropical. When the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia (founded in 1743) agitated the foundation of the "Public Academy of the City of Philadelphia," the institution that later developed into the University of Pennsylvania, Franklin designed its curriculum, and recommended the study of German and French, besides English. The Academy grew into a college, and in 1754 the trustees appointed William Creamer (Krämer) professor of the French and German languages, a position which he occupied until his retirement in 1775. Professor Creamer gave instruction to a very large number of students.[1]

Benjamin Franklin was the first American on record who visited a German university. It happened in 1766, when the American philosopher attended a meeting of the Royal Society of Science in Göttingen, while on a trip through Germany. It is recorded in the Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen[2] that Benjamin Franklin, with the royal English physician Pringle, visited Mr. Hartmann in Hanover in order to see his apparatus for electrical experiments. Franklin was made a member of the Göttingen learned society.[3]

[1] It is noteworthy that the first attempts of this kind at Harvard and the University of Virginia were not at once so successful. They were made in 1825, almost seventy-five years later. The German classes at the latter institutions were not as large, especially at the beginning. To be sure, Pennsylvania had a large German population to draw from.

[2] September, 1766. The fact of Franklin's visit to the University of Göttingen was first brought to light by B. A. Hinsdale in his valuable article, *Notes on the History of Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States*, *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1897–1898, vol. i; see pp. 604–607.

[3] An interesting conversation with Franklin is reported by Dr. Achenwall of Göttingen, *Anmerkungen über Nord-Amerika und über grossbritannische Colonien aus mündlichen Nachrichten des Herrn Dr. Franklin.* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1769.) Helmstedt, 1777, with an appendix containing John Wesley's

The Philadelphia Academy or College where William Creamer had been the professor of French and German until 1775, received a new charter in 1779, in virtue of which the six strongest denominations of the city of Philadelphia were represented on the board of trustees. Two of the most prominent German ministers of the city, Johann Christoph Kunze and Kaspar Weiberg, were appointed trustees, and through their influence a resolution was carried, to the effect that "a German professor of philology should be appointed, whose duty should be to teach the Latin and Greek languages through the medium of the German tongue both in the Academy, and in the University." Kunze, being considered one of the most eminent teachers of the classics in America, was elected to fill the position.[1] Professor Kunze considered also the establishment of a preparatory school for the university with which he was connected. He encouraged a student of Halle, Mr. Leps, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1773, to begin a Latin school. Twenty-four subscribers were found, each contributing ten pounds. The sons of the subscribers received free instruction, others paid fees. The school was modeled after Francke's Pedagogical Institute in Halle and flourished for some time. The successor of Kunze in Philadelphia was the Reverend J. H. C. Helmuth, who was ardent in his desire to promote the study of the German language. He was very successful with his students, and they increased to the number of sixty.

In 1787 an act was passed by the assembly of Pennsylvania incorporating a German college in the county

addresses in the American colonies. Translated by J. G. Rosengarten, Philadelphia, 1903.

[1] Cf. Learned, *Dedication of the Bechstein Library in Philadelphia*, March 21, 1896, p. 37.

of Lancaster, "for the instruction of youth in the German, English, Latin, Greek, and other learned languages, in theology, and in the useful arts, sciences, and literature." In honor of Benjamin Franklin, — who was the largest contributor to its funds,[1] an earnest advocate of its foundation, and who, in spite of his advanced age, journeyed to Lancaster to lay the corner-stone in 1787, — the institution was named Franklin College. The foundation of two rival seats of learning was, strangely enough, not beneficial to the cause of the German language. The German "Institute" in Philadelphia, a department of the university, was suppressed, in part to favor the new Franklin College, but the location of the latter was not found to be as fortunate as was expected.[2] The attempt to establish the German system of higher education in Pennsylvania, so gloriously begun, thus ended in failure. The time was not ripe for it, there was no demand, and there was no foundation, i. e., the schools were not ready to furnish adequate preparation.

Franklin's visit in Lancaster to lay the corner-stone of Franklin College inspired a young resident of that city, Benjamin Smith Barton, to study abroad. His studies included medicine and the natural sciences, and after pursuing them at home, he studied in Edinburgh, London, and finally at the University of Göttingen, where he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1799. He was

[1] He subscribed the sum of $1000 from his moderate fortune, a sum to be considered very large for that time.

[2] Marshall College of Mercersburg (the "High School" of the German Reformed Church) united with Franklin College in 1850, and Franklin and Marshall College became the name of the institution for higher education at Lancaster. Cf. J. H. Dubbs, D.D., LL.D., *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, Pa., 1903); also, R. C. Schiedt, D.D., Ph.D., *On the Threshold of a New Century.* (Philadelphia, 1900. Publication Board, Reformed Church.)

the first American Göttingen doctor.[1] The German influence was not yet destined to be consecutive or lasting. For natural historical reasons, the English and, since the Revolutionary War, the French influence penetrated more deeply. Thomas Jefferson's great interest and activity in educational matters favored French models. He recognized the importance of modern languages, but the language of polite society at the time was French. Little was known about German literature and philosophy even in England; far less, therefore, in the United States, where, in spite of political emancipation, a colonial spirit of dependence on the mother country still prevailed in all matters of education and culture. English authors did not discover Germany until 1780, and not until William Taylor had translated many German literary works, and the poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Walter Scott, and subsequently Thomas Carlyle beat a trail into the "kingdom of the mind." Some of the English poets visited the Continent and brought back some knowledge of Germany, and considerable inspiration from German poetry and letters. Madame de Staël's "De l'Allemagne," which opened intellectual Germany for France, performed a similar service in England when translated and published in London in 1814. The translation went to America immediately thereafter. "Possibly a few Bostonians," says the historian Henry Adams, "could read and speak

[1] He returned to America and occupied a prominent position as a physician in Philadelphia until his death in 1815. He wrote a large number of scientific works, and in 1813 became the successor of Benjamin Rush as professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. The second American student at Göttingen was probably W. B. Astor, the son of John Jacob Astor, the New York merchant prince, born in Germany. W. B. Astor studied at Heidelberg two years, and then went to Göttingen in 1810. Cf. Hinsdale, p. 608.

French; but Germany was nearly as unknown as China until Madame de Staël published her famous work."[1]

It is interesting in this connection to read George Ticknor's account of the difficulties he encountered when attempting to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of German. Having a taste for learning, he conceived the ambition of attending a German university. He had read with interest the books of Madame de Staël, he had heard of the large library at Göttingen, and was interested in Villers' defense of that university against an attack by Jerome Bonaparte. He tried to study some German before going abroad, but there was no one in Boston who could teach him. At Jamaica Plain there was a native of Strassburg, who gave instruction in mathematics. This German mathematician, Dr. Brosius, was willing to do what he could, but warned his pupil against his own Alsatian pronunciation. "Nor was it possible to get books. I borrowed a Meidinger's Grammar, French and German, from my friend Mr. Everett, and sent to New Hampshire, where I knew there was a German dictionary, and procured it. I also obtained a copy of Goethe's 'Werther' in German (through connivance). I got so far as to write a translation of 'Werther,' but no further."[2] All the while there remained in the mind of the eager student the ringing utterances of Madame de Staël, "All the north of Germany is filled with the most learned universities in Europe. In no country, not even in England, have the people so many means of instructing themselves, and of bringing their faculties to perfection; — the literary glory of Germany depends altogether upon these institutions"; these con-

[1] Cf. Hinsdale, p. 608.

[2] *Life, Letters, and Journal of George Ticknor*, vol. i, pp. 11–12, 18–19; Hinsdale, pp. 608, 609.

veyed a promise to the young American scholar, starved at home by the want of good libraries and the lack of opportunities to associate with live men of learning and letters.

George Ticknor and Edward Everett went abroad from 1815 to 1817, and became the first two New England students at the University of Göttingen. They were the pioneers in the movement, which rapidly gained strength and constituted a formidable educational influence. Between 1815 and 1850 several hundred young American students made pilgrimages to German centres of learning, matriculating in the universities of Göttingen, Berlin, Halle, and a few in Leipzig.[1] Among the famous names of American students at Göttingen before 1850 and shortly after, besides Everett and Ticknor, there were George Bancroft, G. H. Calvert, R. W. Emerson, H. W. Longfellow, J. L. Motley, B. L. Gildersleeve, Francis J. Child, E. T. Harris, G. M. Lane, W. D. Whitney, Th. D. Woolsey, G. L. Prentiss, H. B. Smith, F. H. Hedge, W. C. King, and B. A. Gould. George William Curtis and Timothy Dwight studied at Berlin. The American popularity of Leipzig, Bonn, and Heidelberg was of later date. Of the two hundred and twenty-five American students at German universities, one hundred and thirty-seven became professors in American colleges, each of them aglow with the new inspiration of scholarship.

Both George Ticknor and Edward Everett were influential on their return in attracting attention to the advantages of German universities. Immediately after leaving the Continent, having spent several years at Göt-

[1] The complete list of their names is furnished by Hinsdale in the article already quoted: *Notes on the History of Foreign Influences upon Education in the United States*, pp. 610–613.

tingen, Everett wrote from England in 1819 that America had little to learn from England for the development of her universities, but a great deal from Germany. Everett brought a large number of German books with him from Göttingen, which formed the nucleus of a German library at Harvard. In 1818, the library of Professor Ebeling [1] of Hamburg, was bought by Mr. Thorndike, a resident of Boston. The eminent German geographer had been collecting books for fifty years, and had written a work on American history and geography for which he had received the thanks of Congress. The King of Prussia was a bidder against the Boston purchaser, and was not successful, a surprise which undoubtedly created a ripple of comment. The incident marked the advent of the American in the German book-market, and the Ebeling library was the forerunner of the migration of German book collections to America. The "Bücherwanderung" brought over the libraries of Bluntschli, Zarncke, Scherer, Bechstein, Hildebrand, Weinhold, Bernays, and numerous others, and followed hard upon the migration of American students to German universities.

Everett on his return prevailed upon President Kirkland of Harvard to grant a scholarship to George Bancroft for study in a German university. As a result, Bancroft became a student at Göttingen, and, after his return,

[1] Cf. Louis Viereck, *German Instruction in American Schools*, Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1901, Commissioner of Education, vol. i, p. 552. The article (pp. 531–708) is a comprehensive survey of the teaching of German in the United States in schools and colleges. It goes beyond furnishing statistics, though these are a valuable portion of Mr. Viereck's investigation ; it includes a history of the study of German in the United States, and frequently enters the field of German influences upon American education. The work has appeared in German under the title, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten*, von L. Viereck. (Braunschweig, 1903.)

wishing to shed upon others some of the inspiration he had received, he applied for leave to read lectures on history at Harvard University. "At Göttingen, or at Berlin, I had the right," says Bancroft, "after a few preliminary formalities to deliver such a course. It was the only time in my life that I applied for an office for myself, and this time it was not so much an office as a permission that I desired. My request was declined by my own *alma mater*, so that I had not the opportunity of manifesting my affection for her by personal service," etc.[1] After this disappointment, Bancroft "devoted a few years to an attempt to introduce some parts of the German system of education." In conjunction with Dr. Cogswell, he founded the Round Hill School, in 1823, near Northampton, Massachusetts. Bancroft retired after a few years, leaving Dr. Cogswell in sole possession. The school continued until 1839, and during the first eight years of its history enrolled two hundred and ninety-three pupils, drawn from nineteen states and four foreign countries. The conductors of Round Hill put into practice ideas they had gathered in Germany and Switzerland. Since Cogswell remained longest and impressed his stamp upon the school, it is worth while to review his career abroad.

Joseph G. Cogswell, born in Massachusetts in 1786, made a trip to Europe in 1816 as tutor to Mr. A. Thorndike. The American colony at Göttingen, including Ticknor and Everett, then consisted of four. Cogswell worked hard, not as a specialist, but as a seeker of knowledge in many fields. He also made a pilgrimage to Goethe in Weimar, an example that was followed by many Ameri-

[1] This statement is contained in a letter of George Bancroft to President Eliot, 1871, in which he makes known his intention to found a fellowship at Harvard. Cf. Hinsdale, p. 615.

cans of Göttingen. In 1817 he left the university town for Switzerland and southern Europe, stopping at Munich, where he met many men of science. In Switzerland he studied the schools of the two great educators, Pestalozzi at Yverdon, and Fellenberg at Hofwyl. He was impressed by the good order and success of the institution of Fellenberg even more than by that of Pestalozzi, the great innovator of modern methods. The companionship of teacher and pupil, study mingled with play, uniform development, attention to the study of modern languages, these principles impressed him forcibly, and he introduced them later at his own Round Hill School. The German system also included the abolition, as far as possible, of fear and emulation. The lash was forbidden, out-of-door life was emphasized as a feature, while individual attention given to each pupil was employed as a stimulus instead of rivalry. All these ideas were subsequently put into practice at Round Hill. It was the first school in the country thoroughly impressed with the German ideas.[1] After the abandonment of Round Hill,[2] Cogswell taught for a year in Raleigh, North Carolina, and later became an organizer of the Astor Library (until 1863), in which position his German experience again influenced his work.

The Round Hill School secured as teachers the brilliant young German scholars, Carl Beck and Carl Follen, shortly after their arrival on the same ship at Christmas, in 1824. Carl Beck was appointed teacher of Latin, and he

[1] Hinsdale in his report (pp. 616 ff.) correctly includes the schools of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg under the German influence. These school reformers, though natives of Switzerland, were German. They published their books in German, and employed German teachers for the most part; e. g., when Professor Griscom visited Pestalozzi, in 1818–1819, the principal teacher was Joseph Schmidt, a native of one of the German cantons.

[2] Owing to Cogswell's failing health and financial losses.

soon established at Round Hill, the first indoor gymnasium[1] in the United States. Carl Follen did not remain long at Round Hill, but, through Ticknor's influence, received a call to Harvard as professor of German. No abler man could have been found to become the first teacher of the German language and literature in New England's foremost institution of learning. For the study of German the date 1825 marks an epoch;[2] and all the more because it happened in the same year that a professor of modern languages was appointed at the great Southern seat of learning, the University of Virginia. The first class at Harvard consisted of eight pupils, of whom A. P. Peabody was one. In his "Reminiscences" the latter speaks of Follen's work as a teacher. There were no German books procurable, and Follen therefore found it necessary to write his own text-books. Book and teacher Peabody describes as follows:[3] "The German Reader for Beginners, compiled by our teacher, was furnished to the class in single sheets as it was needed, and was printed in Roman type, there being no German type within easy reach. There could not have been a happier introduction to German literature than this little volume. It contained choice extracts in prose . . . and poems from Schiller, Goethe, Herder, and several other poets of kindred if inferior fame. But in the entire volume Dr. Follen rejoiced especially in several battle-pieces from Körner, the soldier and martyr of liberty. I never have heard recitations which have impressed me so strongly as the reading of those pieces by Dr. Follen, who would put into them all the heart and soul that had made him too much a lover

[1] See below, Chapter VIII (section on care of the body).

[2] This date has been used by Viereck (p. 614) as the beginning of the second epoch in the history of German language study in the United States.

[3] Hinsdale, p. 614.

of his country to be suffered to dwell in it. He appended to the other poems in the first edition of the Reader, anonymously, a death-song in memory of Körner, which we all knew to be his own, and which we read so often and so feelingly, that it sank indelibly into permanent memory; and I find that after an interval of sixty years it is as fresh in my recollection as the hymns that I learned in my childhood."

Follen succeeded admirably in creating an interest in the German language and literature. By 1831 he was able to report that the students studying German averaged fifty in number for each session. The progress continued with rapidity. German books were no longer rare, and many residents of Boston could speak German and read it with complete understanding. Another eminent young German, Francis Lieber,[1] was also at this time (after 1827) residing in the New England "hub," and he and Follen, believing thoroughly in the importance of training the body along with the mind, were the first to introduce gymnastic training in Boston. Lieber's Boston swimming-school was also a new departure in the educational field, and became such a feature that John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, went to see it.[2] In 1831 Follen received a five years' appointment as professor of German at Harvard, and it seemed likely that the position would be a permanent one. But the man who had become an exile for the sake of liberty in Germany was destined to play a part also in the struggle for the liberty of mankind. Carl Follen, endowed with the capacity and instincts of a leader of minds, became outspoken in his opposition to

[1] For the career of Francis Lieber, subsequently the great authority on international law, see above, Chapter IV of this Volume.

[2] Viereck, p. 554.

slavery, and incurred the hostility and scorn of the public press. Like most of the early radical abolitionists, Follen at the beginning was censured by public opinion even in the locality which later became the centre of the abolition spirit. Follen's[1] appointment was not renewed after 1836, and the good beginning that had been made in the study of the German language in New England was totally discontinued. The cause of German literature had still a friend in Longfellow, who in 1838 began his lectures on Goethe's "Faust." German literature was studied also by Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and the Transcendentalists.

The commissioner of education, Dr. W. T. Harris, himself thoroughly grounded in German philosophy and one of its leading expounders in the United States, when asked concerning the beginnings of German studies in this country, sketched the following notes:[2] "Theodore Parker's article in 'The Dial' for January, 1841 (vol. i, p. 315), republished in Parker's 'Miscellanies,' was a cause of very

[1] Carl Follen was a master of English and a brilliant orator. At Harvard he gave lectures also on moral philosophy and ethics, and among his friends he numbered the leading spirits of the time. Through the influence of William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, and Alexander Everett, Follen inclined to Unitarian doctrines, and subsequently became a Unitarian minister. He accepted a charge in New York City, where he remained until 1838. Then he received a call from the congregation in East Lexington, near Boston, which seemed to be a position after his own heart. He was a distinguished lecturer on topics of the time, on politics and literature. In the winter of 1839–1840 he accepted an invitation to New York to give a series of lectures on German literature, and while there was called back to dedicate the new church of his congregation. He asked for a delay, but, finally yielding to the request from New England, he boarded the steamer *Lexington*, and on the thirteenth of February lost his life in the flames that consumed the ship while it was passing through the Sound. Only one or two sailors of the large boatload of passengers and crew were rescued. The death of Carl Follen was mourned throughout New England. The Unitarian Church, the German element of the United States, and the abolitionist cause all suffered an irreparable loss through his early death.

[2] Cf. Hinsdale, pp. 613–614.

much study of German literature, and of my own study of it among the rest. It is a review of Menzel's work. I think that perhaps Professor Stuart of Andover was the stimulant behind Theodore Parker. Then of course there was Carlyle, a great upheaving force towards the study of German literature and philosophy, and behind him Coleridge. There were the Coleridgians at the University of Vermont, who had great influence in New England. Frederick Henry Hedge[1] was the great German scholar, thoroughly equipped and thoroughly possessed with the German spirit. He was the German fountain among the so-called Transcendentalists. Then of course Horace Mann made German philosophy famous by his report on German schools, in 1843. Margaret Fuller was an influence in that direction. Henry Barnard's journal promoted the work, and his translations from Karl von Raumer were and are the best critical pedagogy that we have in English. I thus made my acquaintance with Karl Rosenkranz, became greatly interested in his philosophy, and his pedagogical system was a favorite with me as early as 1863. I procured a translation for my 'Journal of Speculative Philosophy' afterwards."

President Marsh of the University of Vermont was well acquainted with German literature, philosophy, and theology. In 1883 he published his translation of Herder's work "The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry." Professor Moses Stuart found it necessary to learn German in order to

[1] Professor Levi Hedge, his father, pushed him so hard that he was fitted for Harvard at the age of twelve. Too young to enter, he was sent to Europe with George Bancroft, who was about to go to Göttingen. F. H. Hedge studied for five years in various gymnasia, acquired a thorough knowledge of the German language, and became deeply interested in German poetry and metaphysics, in the study of which he was the pioneer in the United States. Cf. *The Nation*, August 28, 1890.

penetrate deeply into theology. To him belongs the credit of opening to American theologians the rich stores of German Biblical literature. He published many translations from the German, and his Hebrew Grammar was based on the works of German scholars. Henry Boynton Smith, after occupying a chair of mental and moral philosophy at Amherst in 1850, became professor of church history, and later, of theology, in Union Seminary, where he found full scope for his wide knowledge of German philosophy and theology.[1]

Another step toward bringing foreign and mainly German influences to bear on education in the United States was made by the publication of the reports of Griscom, Bache, Stowe, and the translations of V. Cousin's work. Professor John Griscom in 1818–1819 published the results of his observations and investigations abroad in a book entitled "A Year in Europe." His travels included a visit to Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland. Thomas Jefferson declared that he found valuable hints in Griscom's book for adoption in the University of Virginia. Alexander D. Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, preparatory to his occupying the presidency of Girard College, was sent abroad in 1833 to study kindred institutions, and gave particular attention to the orphan asylums of Germany, which had, since the days of Francke, reached a high standard of development. Professor C. E. Stowe (the husband of the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin") about the same time received a commission from the state of Ohio to visit Europe for the study of systems of public instruction. His report gave a large amount of space to Prussian schools, German reformatory institutions, and common schools of North and South Germany.

[1] Hinsdale, pp. 627–628.

But more important than any of these was the influence of a French educational report. In 1837 M. Victor Cousin, councilor of state in France, professor of philosophy, etc., visited Prussia to study her school system, after previously visiting Saxony, Weimar, and Frankfort-on-the-Main. His report on the Prussian schools, submitted to the French Minister of Public Instruction, became one of the most influential educational documents of the time. It awarded the highest praise to German methods of education, and recommended their adoption. The work was translated into German, and somewhat later into English. Sir William Hamilton wrote a review of it, "Cousin on German Schools," in the "Edinburgh Review," in 1833, thinking that otherwise it would be lost sight of entirely. Contrary to Hamilton's expectation, the work was very soon translated into English by Mrs. Sarah Austin. This translation was republished in the United States in 1835. The American publication of Cousin's work proved to be of enormous influence on education in the Middle West. The great pioneer in the development of the school system in that section of the country was Michigan. At about the time when the book appeared, Michigan was planning a state university and schools leading up to it, and was looking about for models. The Prussian system as portrayed by Cousin appeared at the psychological moment, and became the standard of imitation. An historian of the event thus described it:[1] "A university in the German sense — an institution crowning the educational system of a state, treating its students as free adults engaged in a *bona fide* pursuit of knowledge, offering its advantages at the lowest possible prices, sending down its

[1] Calvin Thomas, *The University of Michigan and its Recent Jubilee.* Cf. Viereck, p. 556.

roots into the life of the people, to take thence the sap of its own vitality, and paying back the debt by raising the intelligence and adding to the value and the dignity of life throughout the entire commonwealth — a university upon this theory was as yet an experiment to be tried. That the experiment came to be tried in Michigan, under reasonably favorable conditions, is largely due to Mr. Pierce, whose office was modeled after that of the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction, and who is said to have been the first American to hold such a position under a state government."

The university was founded in 1837, but even a larger task had to be accomplished, that of creating good secondary schools as a basis for the superstructure. About the middle of the century Henry T. Tappen became president of the university, and he aimed to make the institution as much like a German university as possible. He banished denominational influences from the institution, and called the best men available to fill its chairs, as Andrew D. White, to the professorship of history, the astronomer Brunnow, one of Encke's best pupils from Berlin, and Henry S. Frieze, to the professorship of Latin.[1] In 1871 President J. B. Angell came to the helm, and continued to hold to the German idea. The whole plan of a university supported by the state is German. The spirit of investigation, the attraction of good men in preference to the erection of costly buildings, the thorough study of modern languages, have been characteristic of the University of Michigan.[2]

[1] Frieze was a fine organist and pianist; Professor Brunnow and Mrs. A. D. White also contributed to musical evenings at Ann Arbor. Cf. A. D. White, *Autobiography*, vol. i, p. 273.

[2] Cf. the emphasis laid on these points in an address by President Angell at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Johns Hopkins University.

State universities throughout the country owe their origin to the wisdom and foresight of Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, the author of the Morrill Bill of 1862, which became a law after long enduring opposition, and after having been twice vetoed during the preceding administration. The bill provided that a grant of public lands should be given to each and every state and territory in proportion to its representation in Congress, provided that the state or territory should establish a college for scientific, technical, military, and general education. The pro-slavery party were opposed to any system of advanced education promoted by the government, and held up the bill until they lost their strength.[1] This bill made possible the establishment of the large number of state universities throughout the Middle West and West, which in general have forged ahead of most of the older privately endowed institutions of the country. States that had already founded universities previous to the passage of the Morrill Bill could add technical departments endowed under the new law. Michigan was originally the model of the state universities, which is equivalent to saying a strong German influence prevailed. An example of this is furnished by the daughter of Michigan, the University of Wisconsin, in her high ideals of graduate work and scientific investigation.

Before passing on to a more recent period, it is necessary to consider the so-called educational revival,[2] produced by Horace Mann. Previous to 1837 the public schools in the United States were in a wretched condition. There was no pedagogical supervision of the schools, no

[1] Cf. Andrew D. White, *Autobiography*, vol. i, p. 200.

[2] Cf. E. G. Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, chap. vii, pp. 97–103. (The Macmillan Company, 1904.)

institution existed for the training of teachers, and very little of the public money was devoted to the crying needs of education. Private schools commonly surpassed the schools supported at the public expense. But in 1837 Massachusetts organized its State Board of Education, and the general conditions were ripe for educational progress, if the right man appeared to serve as leader. He was found in Horace Mann,[1] the first secretary of the Massachusetts board. When in 1839 he attempted the introduction of the study of modern languages, he met immediate opposition among his own colleagues, members of "the American Institute of Instruction." In 1843 he published his famous "Seventh Annual Report," in which he gave a detailed account of what he saw of European schools on his travels, undertaken at private expense, in Scotland, Saxony, and Prussia. He censured severely existing conditions in American schools, and stated as his estimate that the Prussian schools were foremost as representing a thorough and consistent system. Although thirty-one Boston teachers replied to the Seventh Report and protested, nevertheless the reformer won the day.

Horace Mann's itinerary abroad had included Great Britain and most of the large cities of Germany; he had also visited Holland, Belgium, and Paris. His progress was rapid, but he was a quick and acute observer, and as a rule what pleased him most was what he saw in Germany. Describing his work there he said: "Perhaps I saw as fair a proportion of the Prussian and Saxon schools as one would see of the schools in Massachusetts, who would visit those of Boston, Newburyport, New Bedford, Worcester, Northampton, and Springfield." In visiting the schools he gave close attention to their studies, discipline, methods of

[1] Horace Mann was born in 1796 in Franklin, Massachusetts.

teaching, teachers, and preparation of teachers. He found a confirmation of some of his favorite ideas. Nowhere was his Report more interesting than in the descriptions of the oral instruction, the influence and kindness of teachers, the absence of corporal punishment, and the discredit cast upon emulation that he had seen in the schools of Germany. When dealing with the normal schools and the preparation and character of teachers in the same country, his admiration became unbounded. Another feature that impressed him was the practice of oral instruction in place of mere text-book memorizing. This method required more live and skillful teachers, and taxed more severely the attention and thinking powers of the pupil, but it put interest in the place of drudgery.

Horace Mann established the first American normal school in Massachusetts in 1839.[1] This was followed in Connecticut by the Teachers' Institute established by Henry Barnard. Dr. Barnard, as secretary of the Connecticut Board of Education, chose the plan of a teachers' convention to propagate reform methods. With this purpose in view he called together such teachers as were disposed to attend for the purpose of learning better methods of school arrangement, instruction, and government, to meet for a month's session at Hartford. Recitations and lectures were given by experienced and well-known educators. President Wayland of Brown University (1826–1855) was another influential school reformer of the period. At Brown he introduced instruction in modern languages and laid the foundation of a German library.

Another strong influence upon American methods

[1] Hinsdale, *Horace Mann*, pp. 171–173. (Great Educators' Series. Edited by Nicholas Murray Butler. Scribner's, 1898.)

proved to be the Herbartian doctrines of education. The German philosopher introduced psychology into teaching. The two points emphasized in the older stages of educational history, at first memory-culture and later perception (Pestalozzi's "Anschauungsunterricht"), are united by Herbart into something higher, which Herbart calls apperception, or mental assimilation.[1] Herbart's idea was that it is not as important for the pupil to memorize or even to observe as it is to understand. Herbartian methods were promoted in America by the foundation of the Herbartian Club in 1892, at a meeting of the National Educational Society. The members of the club assembled to discuss the works of the German psychologist and educator, with a view to increasing the adoption of Herbartian methods.[2]

In higher technical education a great advance was made by the foundation of Cornell University in 1868. Upon the university seal is found the legend, surrounding the portrait of the founder, "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." This broad basis was proved impracticable by the first president, Andrew D. White,[3] the educational founder of the university, who aimed to combine under one régime the German university and the "Technische Hochschule." The intimate acquaintance of President White with German public life and his marked bias for German ideals and educational methods could not result otherwise than in a strong German influence in the new institution.

[1] Cf. De Garmo, *Herbart and the Herbartians*, p. 10. (The Great Educators' Series.)

[2] Cf. De Garmo, pp. 266–267, for a bibliography of the English literature on the Herbartian system.

[3] Andrew D. White was president of Cornell University from 1867 to 1885; he was absent from 1879 to 1881 to serve as United States Minister to Germany. He was ambassador to Germany, 1897–1902.

This was felt not only in the employment of strong men, the foundation of a great library and modern laboratories, and in the importance attached to the German language and literature,[1] but appeared also in the German spirit of *Lehr- und Lern-freiheit*, which to this day is characteristic of the institution. In order to raise the technical schools to a higher standard than had been seen in this country before, the president visited the best institutions of the kind in Europe, including the German Agricultural College at Hohenheim and the technical school and veterinary college at Berlin. As to equipment, he purchased materials wherever he found them — the great collection of British Patent Office publications; the Rau models of plows from Hohenheim; the Brendel plant models from Breslau; the models of machine movement from London, Darmstadt, and Berlin.[2]

Cornell has the distinction also of having established the first school of forestry in the United States, 1898–1903. The chief of the Division of Forestry in the United States Department of Agriculture, Bernhard Edward Fernow,[3] was called to be the director of this new foundation. A full course of four years was inaugurated, and the college grew rapidly in numbers during the following five years, the total number of students registering in 1903, the last year, being 73. Two assistants were appointed, one of whom, Professor Filibert Roth, of German

[1] Bayard Taylor was called to give lectures on German literature, and resident professors (Willard Fiske) and assistants from the beginning gave regular instruction in Germanic languages.

[2] *Autobiography of A. D. White*, vol. i, p. 338.

[3] Professor Fernow was born in Prussia in 1851, and came to the United States in 1876. He was secretary of the American Forestry Association from 1883 to 1889, chief of the Division of Forestry, United States Department of Agriculture, from 1886 to 1898. See above, Chapter II of this Volume.

birth, is at present head of the department of forestry at the University of Michigan. For laboratory work a demonstration forest, consisting of thirty thousand acres, was located near Tupper Lake Station, in the Adirondack Mountains. The university was to have the right to cut and sell timber, logging-camps were established, railroads and roads were built, and nurseries for the growing of plant material were instituted. All that was necessary to show how practical forestry management for business purposes should proceed was done on a large and efficient scale. During the second year of its operations the college incurred the criticism and active opposition of the neighboring land-owners, who had hunting and fishing preserves in the vicinity, and who objected to the cutting of trees. A legislative committee was induced by the camp-owners to visit the tract and make a report. The legislature did not take cognizance of the adverse report of this committee, but voted to appropriate ten thousand dollars for the maintenance of the college and an additional five thousand dollars to assist in the planting operations on the demonstration area. However, the item in the appropriation bill providing for the support of the college was vetoed by Governor Odell. The result was the closing of the forestry school, and the abandonment by the Empire State of its splendid pioneer undertaking.[1]

After the example of Cornell, forestry departments were organized at state universities, as those in Michigan, Georgia, and elsewhere. Yale and Harvard have also established forestry schools. As regards the basis of their teaching, all of these schools are originally dependent on Germany, directly or through English or

[1] The above account is taken from *Cornell University; A History*, by Waterman T. Hewett, vol. ii, pp. 375–378.

French channels.[1] The Michigan school, as noted above, is an offspring of Cornell's. More recently the Pennsylvania State College organized a department of forestry, originally under the direction of Professor B. E. Fernow. Another forestry school (preparatory) exists at Montalto, under the direction of Mr. Wirt, a German. An independent school is that established at Biltmore, North Carolina, by Dr. C. A. Schenk, a German forester, managing the estate of George Vanderbilt. Schenk's "Meisterschule," located in a great laboratory of beautiful forests, is one of the most inspiring of forestry schools. The pioneer teacher of scientific forestry in the United States, and the organizer of our first forestry schools, Professor Bernhard Edward Fernow, is now extending the German methods of scientific forestry into British America. Since 1907 he has been the organizer and director of the newly founded school of forestry at the University of Toronto, the pioneer in Canada, which will undoubtedly become the parent of forestry culture in British America.

A new epoch for the American university was begun with the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876. The architect and builder of this university, Daniel C. Gilman, the first president, in his inaugural address mentioned twelve points as fundamental in respect to university education.[2] Those which were the most characteristic of the institution and which, at the same time, were derived from Germany, are the following: Separation of all denominational influences; remote utility is quite as worthy to be thought of as immediate advantage;

[1] See Chapter II, of this Volume.

[2] Cf. D. C. Gilman, *The Launching of a University, and Other Papers.* (New York, 1906.) The first chapter, "Fundamental Principles," pp. 1–56, is interesting in this connection.

the best teachers are investigators, and the best investigators are usually those who have also the responsibility of instruction, gaining thus the incitement of colleagues, the encouragement of pupils, the observation of the public; the best scholars will almost invariably be those who make special attainments on the foundation of a broad and liberal culture; high standards and high ideals. Admission to the university could be gained only by those who had already completed a college course; the undergraduate department, which was added later, was regarded as a preparatory school for the graduate; a reading knowledge of German and French was made a requirement for the higher degree. The spirit of research characteristic of the German university was now securely planted upon American soil, and so quickly bore fruit that Germany very soon recognized Johns Hopkins as a sister institution. Almost all the earlier members of the faculty were doctors of German universities, e. g., B. L. Gildersleeve (Greek), Ph.D. Göttingen, 1853; Ira Remsen (chemistry), Göttingen, 1870 (now president of Johns Hopkins); H. N. Morse (chemistry), Göttingen, 1875; W. E. Story (mathematics), Leipzig, 1875; H. B. Adams (history), Heidelberg, 1876; Paul Haupt (Semitic languages), Leipzig, 1878; Henry Wood (German), Leipzig, 1879; Minton Warren (Latin), Strassburg, 1879; R. T. Ely (economics), Heidelberg, 1879; E. Renouf (chemistry), Freiburg, 1880; G. H. Williams (geology), Heidelberg, 1882.

At the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Johns Hopkins University leading educators defined exactly the position of this university in the forward movement of higher education in this country. Addressing the retiring president of Johns Hopkins, President Eliot of Harvard said: "President Gilman, your first achievement here,

with the help of your colleagues, your students, and your trustees, has been, to my thinking — and I have had good means of observation — the creation of a school of graduate studies, which not only has been in itself a strong and potent school, but which has lifted every other university in the country in its departments of arts and sciences. I want to testify that the graduate school of Harvard University, started feebly in 1870 and 1871, did not thrive until the example of Johns Hopkins forced our faculty to put their strength into the development of our instruction for graduates. And what was true of Harvard was true of every other university in the land which aspired to create an advanced school of arts and sciences."[1] President Angell, the head of the original state university, seconded the acknowledgment made by President Eliot, of the pioneer graduate work of Johns Hopkins University and the stimulating effect upon the graduate work of other American institutions, and he added the record of another service of Johns Hopkins University in proving "that what makes a great university is not bricks and mortar but men."[2] These principles, which have made Johns Hopkins not a big but a great university, were deduced from the example of German universities, and the tributes so eloquently made should be extended as well to the parent institutions of the Fatherland.[3] Another pioneer step taken by Johns Hopkins was the re-

[1] *The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1902 (February 21 and 22)*, p. 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 136 and 138.

[3] In the speeches that were made during the two days' celebration there was little recognition of the influence of Germany. Perhaps it was felt to be so evident that there was little need to speak about it. On other occasions Johns Hopkins University has frankly acknowledged the influence of German university methods and ideals. The most beautiful expression of gratitude by an American university was made at the Fiftieth Convocation of the

quirement of a college degree for entrance into her medical school, a feature which was soon after adopted by Harvard, and is inducing other institutions to follow in a modified form. This tendency to raise the standard for admission to a medical course is likewise modeled after the German.[1]

The increase in the number of graduate students resident in this country has been enormous. Every large university is now attempting to extend its facilities for graduate work. In 1850 there were eight graduate students in all the colleges of the country; in 1875 the number had increased to 399; in 1900 there were enrolled a total of 5668. In the mean time the exodus of American students to German universities has not decreased. We have observed its very gradual progress from 1816 to 1850. In 1835 there were four American students who matriculated in the philosophical faculties of German universities; in 1860 there were 77; in 1880, 173; in 1891, 446; in 1892, 383; in 1895, 422; and in 1898, 397.[2] The German influence therefore continues now through two channels, the direct one from German universities and the indirect one through the graduate departments of American universities.

University of Chicago, on the occasion of the "Recognition of the Indebtedness of American Universities to the Ideals of German Scholarship," March 22, 1904. The event was one of international importance, recognized as such by the heads of the two nations and made impressive by the honors conferred upon a chosen number of Germany's greatest professors.

[1] Johns Hopkins University has recently again sustained her old reputation of leading the way in new fields of investigation by the establishment of a laboratory and clinic for the study of nervous diseases and the pathology of the insane. Mr. Henry Phipps of Pittsburg has endowed this department of the Johns Hopkins University munificently. Adolf Meyer, a German born in Zurich, professor of psychiatry in New York City, has been called to the directorship of the new foundation.

[2] The above statistics are taken from the inaugural address of President Remsen, *Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Johns Hopkins University*, p. 79.

A catalogue of all the names of Germans and men of German descent who occupy chairs at American universities would not find room in this volume. A very few examples will suffice to show that the German element is prominently represented in every field of intellectual activity. The noblest type of the German professor, one that gave all, and had all to give, was found in H. E. Von Holst, professor of American history in the University of Chicago. He died in office in 1904, but left an enduring monument in his "Constitutional History of the United States." At the same institution Albert A. Michelson, born in Strelno, Germany, head professor of physics since 1892, brilliant research worker in light, won the rare distinction of being awarded the Nobel Prize ($40,000). At Harvard, Professor Münsterberg, one of the leading psychologists of to-day, is the author of a book, "Die Amerikaner," which is to Germans what Bryce's "American Commonwealth" is to Englishmen, De Tocqueville's "Démocratie en Amérique" to Frenchmen, and, like the English and French works, is of equal interest to American readers.[1] The professors of German literature and language, Kuno Francke and H. C. G. Von Jagemann at Harvard, are both of German birth.[2] Paul Henry Hanus (born in Prussia) has been professor of education at Harvard since 1891, and E. H. Strobel (born

[1] Professor Münsterberg has contributed in this work to a more intimate psychological understanding between the two great nations, the United States and Germany. Cf. also his *American Traits* and his recent collection of addresses: *Aus Deutsch-Amerika.*

[2] For a list and account of the professors of German and American birth engaged in the teaching of the German language and literature in the United States, see L. Viereck's work already cited: *German Instruction in American Schools, Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1901, vol. i, pp. 531–708; or the German translation of the report: *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten.* (Braunschweig, 1903.)

in Charleston, S. C., of a pre-Revolutionary German family) was professor of international law from 1898 until his death in 1908. G. W. Kirchwey (born in Detroit in 1855) since 1901 has been dean of the Law School and professor of law at Columbia University, New York. Frank A. Fetter (of German descent) has been professor of political economy and finance in Cornell University since 1901; Professor P. S. Reinsch (born in Milwaukee), professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin since 1899. The president of Girard College, Philadelphia, is A. H. Fetterolf; the state superintendent of public instruction in Pennsylvania, since 1893, is Nathan C. Schaeffer, both men of German descent. Chester D. Hartranft was president of the Hartford Theological Seminary, 1888–1903; Charles W. Super is president of Ohio University; William N. Hailmann (born in Switzerland) was superintendent of public schools at La Porte, Indiana, 1883–1894, national superintendent of Indian schools, 1894–1898, superintendent of instruction in Dayton, Ohio, after 1898. John S. Stahr was until recently president of Franklin and Marshall College (Lancaster, Pennsylvania), and was succeeded by President Apple, also of German descent, the son of Dr. Stahr's predecessor in office, the Reverend Thomas G. Apple. A. F. Ernst (born in Hanover, Germany) is president of the Northwestern University, Watertown, Wisconsin. Martin G. Brumbaugh (born in Pennsylvania, in 1862), professor of pedagogy, University of Pennsylvania, was the first commissioner of education in Porto Rico, 1899–1902, and since then has been superintendent of Philadelphia schools.[1]

[1] If we were to include in our list of prominent educators men of Dutch descent, there would appear also the names of Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University; Charles R. Van Hise, president of the University

Friedrich Hirth (born in Germany, in 1854) is the famous specialist on China and the Chinese, and was consulted by Count Von Bülow on the Chinese indemnity question in 1900. He is professor of Chinese literature at Columbia. Other distinguished Orientalists [1] are Professors Paul Haupt of Johns Hopkins University and H. V. Hilprecht of the University of Pennsylvania, both born in Germany. German physicians have always been prominent in the United States; [2] Dr. A. Jacobi (born in Germany, — a refugee of 1848), probably the highest authority on children's diseases in the country; Dr. Adolf Meyer, called from the professorship of psychiatry, Cornell University, New York, to become the head of the new department of psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Ernest Wende, professor in the University of Buffalo, a great specialist in diseases of the skin; Hermann Knapp (born in Prussia) of Columbia University is one of our highest authorities on the eye and ear. His namesake, M. A. Knapp (born in Spafford, New York, in 1843), is chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of the most famous astronomers in the country is John M. Schaeberle (born in Germany, in 1853), the dis-

of Wisconsin; and James H. Van Sickle, superintendent of public instruction, Baltimore.

[1] A pioneer in this field was F. L. O. Roehrig (Ph.D. Leipzig), professor of Sanscrit and Oriental languages at Cornell University in 1869; in 1886 at the University of Southern California; subsequently lecturer on Semitic languages and Oriental philology in Leland Stanford. He was a remarkable polylinguist and the author of many books. He was born at Halle, and at one time served as Prussian attaché at Constantinople.

[2] This subject affords material enough for a special monograph. A beginning has been made in the study of German influence in medicine, in Maryland, by Dr. J. C. Hemmeter (professor of medicine in the University of Maryland), *German-American Influence on Medicine and Surgery*. Reprinted from *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, vol. iv, September, 1906. (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

coverer of three comets, the astronomer of the Lick Observatory, who has had charge of several eclipse expeditions. In chemistry, Charles A. Goessmann (born in Germany in 1827), since 1873 chemist to the Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture, was director of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1882–1894, and a pioneer in that work. He has been a famous analyst and specialist, consulted for the refining of sugar and the preparation of salt. E. W. Hilgard, of the University of California, is the Nestor of agricultural science (specialist on soils) in this country. No man in his generation has wielded a greater influence in his particular profession than Professor Bernhard E. Fernow in scientific forestry. F. E. Engelhardt (born in Germany, in 1835) has been professor of materia medica, New York College of Pharmacy, a chemist to various salt companies, and appointed at various times by the State Board of Health as chemist of liquors, wines, beers, etc., in the State of New York. C. H. Eigenmann, professor in Indiana University, is a specialist on fishes; G. E. Beyer, Tulane University, on snakes and mosquitoes; E. M. Ehrhorn, in entomology. In the department of English there is Felix E. Schelling (of German descent), professor of English literature in the University of Pennsylvania, and George Hempl (German descent), professor of English philology in the University of Michigan, 1889–1907. In the department of Romance languages the German element is represented by John Matzke (born in Germany) of Leland Stanford, Oscar Kuhns (of early Pennsylvania-German stock) of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, and William A. Nitze (both parents German) of the University of Chicago. The remembrance of Gustav E. Karsten (born in Germany, 1859) should be kept green as that of a great

force in the study of the Germanic languages. He founded the "Journal of (English and) Germanic Philology," which in this science set the example of a standard of scholarship not surpassed in Germany.[1]

A very recent development in education should not fail to receive mention, that of the interchange of professors,[2] a plan greatly encouraged by the Emperor William II of Germany. The interchange of professors has already been begun with excellent results; the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship at the University of Berlin, endowed by James Speyer, had for its first lecturer a native American, Professor John W. Burgess, dean of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University. The German exchange professors who have come over were Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, professor of physical chemistry in the University of Leipzig, Professor Eugene O. K. Kühnemann, professor of philosophy in the University of Breslau, and Professor Paul Clemen, professor of the history of art in the University of Bonn. The "Germanistische Gesellschaft von Amerika," centralized at New York, has also contributed to the intellectual exchange by inviting annually a prominent German scholar or man-of-letters to give a series of lectures, a notable instance of which was the invitation of the poet Ludwig Fulda,[3] who made a lecture tour through the East and West, and was very well received.

Passing from the highest grade of the educational scale

[1] Some of the prominent Germanists of the country are named in note 2, p. 247. Among curators and librarians in the United States there have been and still are many Germans.

[2] The idea of an interchange of professors was an outgrowth of the project of the Germanic Museum at Harvard. The initiative was taken by Professor Kuno Francke, seconded by Dr. Althoff, Ministerial-Director, in 1902.

[3] His impressions of America were embodied in his bright and fair-minded little volume, *Amerikanische Eindrücke*. (Cotta, 1906.)

to the lowest, by no means the least in importance, we come to the kindergarten, a German institution, founded by a friend of humanity, a lover of the young, Friedrich Fröbel (born in 1782, died in 1852). The first kindergarten attempted in this country was that of the wife of Carl Schurz (née Margaretha Meyer), in Watertown, Wisconsin. This was a Fröbel kindergarten, as early as 1855; another was established at Columbia, Ohio, in 1858. One of the forceful men in the movement in this country was Dr. C. D. A. Douai,[1] journalist and teacher, who founded the first kindergarten in Boston in 1859, which he followed with other foundations in Hoboken, Newark, and New York.[2] In New England the kindergarten received a great impetus through Miss Elizabeth Peabody, who, having studied Fröbel's works and institutions in Germany, returned to Boston and founded the American Fröbel Union in 1867. Frau and Fräulein Kriege ably seconded Miss Peabody in Boston, and in New York the leadership was taken by Frau Marie Kraus-Boelte.[3] After 1881 the development of the kindergarten in the United States was remarkable. There had preceded a more careful study of the system of Fröbel and the establishment of schools for kindergartners. Three kinds of kindergartens arose — the private, supported by the fees of the children, the public,[4]

[1] For an account of the career of Carl Daniel Adolf Douai, born in Germany, in 1819, see the preceding chapter (IV) of this Volume.

[2] Cf. Schem, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexikon*, vol. vi, p. 183.

[3] She was born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1836, was a pupil of Fröbel's widow and Dr. Lange at Hamburg, and after a wide experience as a kindergarten teacher in England came to the United States in 1872, teaching at first in the Fröbel Union. With her husband, John Kraus, she established a seminary for kindergartners in New York City as early as 1873.

[4] On the solicitation of Dr. W. T. Harris, then (1873) superintendent of the city schools, the kindergarten was made a part of the public school system of St. Louis. The experiment was a great success. There are now (1904)

in connection with the public schools, and the charitable, destined to be the most successful of all. Men like Dr. Felix Adler became interested, and aided the work by connecting it with the united charities. Large sums were given for free kindergartens, and as a result the vast importance of the institution as an humanitarian influence became evident. The kindergartens established in the slums were sources of brightness and good cheer in the lives of the lowly. The children were kept occupied while the parents were at work, and the little hearts were won for refining influences and the better things of life.[1] As early as 1882 there were in the United States five hundred kindergartens, attended by twenty thousand children and one thousand teachers. In 1901 there were 5107 (including 2111 private and 2996 public) kindergartens, with 9926 teachers and 243,447 pupils. The principle that the intelligence of a child can be quickened even at play, that its sensibilities can be aroused never too early for what is beautiful, orderly, and interesting, received practical illustration such as to convince the skeptical. Schools for kindergarten teachers exist now all over the country, and in many places the kindergarten is a part of the public school system.

Within recent years vigorous efforts have been made in some places to raise the standard of the public schools, with the result that in many places they have surpassed the average of the private schools. In New York State one of the largest colleges which admit students by certi-

one hundred and twenty-five kindergartens in St. Louis as a part of the public schools. See Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, p. 167.

[1] Some of the women most prominent in the charity kindergartens were Mrs. Pauline Shaw of Boston, Elizabeth Harrison of Chicago, Kate Douglas Wiggin, and Emma Marwedel of San Francisco, and Mrs. Alida Wood (born in Germany) of Baltimore. Cf. Dexter, p. 168.

ficate has recently made a move to take away the certificate privilege from private schools, but to continue it for public high schools, since in its experience the students from public schools were better trained. But this condition did not always exist, for during the larger part of the nineteenth century private schools did very much better work than those supported at the public expense. In the large cities there were a great many German private schools, and the fact of their good influence in the community has never been fairly stated. In Cincinnati, for instance, in the early thirties, fewer children received instruction in the public schools than in the German private schools. In 1839 Dr. Friedrich Rölker, an excellent German teacher, resigned his place in the city schools of Cincinnati, and accepted a position as superintendent in the newly founded Catholic Elementary School. The latter "promised to be decidedly better than the city schools, and he was not handicapped in developing it into a perfect elementary school according to the German, that is, Prussian system."

Almost everywhere the Germans, at least those that had been educated abroad, felt a conviction that they could establish much better schools than those about them. Inspired by this idea the Pittsburg Convention of 1837, presided over by the brilliant but "wabbling" politician, Franz Joseph Grund, decided to found a seminary for German teachers. This was, with the exception of the resolution denouncing slavery, the noblest action taken by that remarkable assemblage. Money was to be raised for the seminary by committees representing Germans throughout the country. The school commission decided to locate the institution at Philippsburg, not far from the communistic settlement of Rapp. There a large building, erected

by a renegade [1] of the Rappist flock, could be utilized to receive the school. Great hopes were set upon the plan. A centre and source of light, the institution was to become even more influential in succeeding generations. The German language and culture were to have a permanent home. Students, if they would promise to become teachers for five years, would receive free tuition. Every effort was made to attract young men. The plan was that of a normal school, combined with some lower-grade instruction, — "Eine Real- und Muster-schule." The fourth convention, which met at Philippsburg, August 9, 1841, decided to open the school on December 1 of the same year. This event was contemporary with the attempts of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard to establish normal schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut. But the seminary was destined to be short-lived. The lower school was prosperous for a time, but the normal school was not. The parochial schools were uncertain as to what position to take in regard to the new venture. Catholics and Protestants distrusted one another, and both wished to retain their own students. The founders of the institution were known to be free-thinkers, and that circumstance restrained all denominations from sending pupils. While the Philippsburg plan thus failed, its effect upon local schools was nevertheless stimulating. The wide interest that had been aroused in matters of education was a permanent benefit to the German population.[2]

Typical private schools of good influence on the German population and beyond, and conducted by excellent

[1] Count Leon. He built this edifice from the funds received on leaving the Rappist Community, but subsequently migrated to the Southwest. Cf. J. Hanno Deiler, *Eine vergessene Colonie, Eine Stimme zur Verteidigung des Grafen de Leon, alias Proli, alias Bernhard Müller.* (New Orleans, 1900.)

[2] Cf. Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 1818–1848, pp. 47–57.

heads, were the schools of Feldner, in Detroit; Hailmann, in Louisville; and Engelmann, in Milwaukee. The latter still exists under the name "Deutsch-Englische Akademie." Peter Engelmann was a refugee of the revolutionary period of 1848, and came to Milwaukee in 1851. He founded the academy in July of the same year, and for nearly a quarter of a century stood at the head of the institution. As an organizer and instructor he was thorough, efficient, and stimulating. He was one of the great German-American schoolmen, and there are many men and women in Milwaukee who treasure in their hearts the memory of their teacher, Engelmann. The school grew rapidly; in 1851 it had two classes and two teachers; in 1865 there were eleven classes and sixteen teachers, with four hundred and fifty pupils. There was an elementary school with four classes, a Realschule with the same number, and a higher female seminary with three classes. When Mr. Engelmann died in 1874, his friend William N. Hailmann (of the Louisville school) became his successor.[1] German pedagogical methods and traditions were well preserved in the school and are to this day. The Deutsch-Englische Akademie is well housed, and provided with able instructors. Milwaukee, its appropriate home, has also been the seat of the National German-American Teachers' Seminary and the "Turnlehrerseminar des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes."[2]

A typical example of the important standing of German private schools in the educational work of a large city is furnished by Baltimore.[3] Foremost in its influence was

[1] Hailmann did not end his career there. He was for several years superintendent of Indian schools and later city superintendent in La Porte and Dayton.

[2] Cf. *Kurzegefasste Geschichte der Deutsch-Englischen Akademie, des Nationalen Deutsch-Amerikanischen Lehrerseminars und des Turnlehrerseminars des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes.* (Milwaukee, 1901.)

[3] The reason for the selection of this city is that the facts were more ac-

the Zions-Schule on North Gay Street, which, though begun several years earlier as a parochial school, was not incorporated until 1836. In 1863 its constitution was changed, and the purpose of the school was made to read "Rationale Erziehung, oder naturgemässe Entwickelung der in dem Kinde wohnenden Anlagen, zur Begründung persönlicher, gesellschaftlicher, und allgemein menschlicher Wohlfahrt." The earlier constitution had given the purpose as "Förderung des edlen Vernunftkeimes im jugendlichen Menschen." From the earliest times both languages, German and English, were used in the class-room, depending much upon the teacher. There were English teachers who would teach, for instance, reading, grammar, geography, and written arithmetic altogether in English. There were German teachers who would teach oral arithmetic, reading, writing, and "natural history" entirely in the German language. The subjects taught were numerous; object-lessons (*Anschauungsunterricht*) and oral instruction were the rule. Particularly did this become so with the advent of the Reverend Henry Scheib, called to the pastorate of the Zionskirche, the real founder of the school, after whom it has frequently been named. One of the great teachers of the institution was Jakob Schmidt, who came in 1840, and for twenty-one years labored in the school zealously with the pastor of the Zionsgemeinde.[1] In 1870 the school had over eight hundred pupils, with sixteen teachers, drawing salaries of over fourteen thousand dollars annually. There were thirteen classes or grades, some of

cessible to the writer. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, pp. 204 ff. The data concerning the Reinhardt Schule were furnished the writer by Miss Bertha Reinhardt, former principal of the school.

[1] Among the many subsequent teachers there were prominent, Emil Dapprich (who left to become the director of the German-English Academy in Milwaukee), August Schmidt, and Richard Ortmann.

them having two or more sections running parallel to one another, which separated the more able from the less gifted or less industrious pupils. The school prepared young men for higher institutions or a business career, and it may be said that a large portion of the German-Americans of Baltimore City at the present day were educated at that school. Quite a number subsequently entered American colleges and German universities, and became professional men. The school declined in numbers when the German-American public schools started in Baltimore, and the latter, keenly sensitive of the rivalry, ever increased in efficiency. The free tuition of the public schools attracted a large part of the former patronage of the Zions-Schule, and finally, but not until after a long struggle, the locally famous Zions-Schule, because of large annual deficits, was forced to close its doors.[1]

Other German private schools in Baltimore were the Knapp-Schule, founded in 1853 by F. Knapp. He instituted German methods of teaching, and in the best period he had about seven hundred pupils and a large number of boys that boarded in the school. The curriculum of the latter did not advance as far as that of the Zions-Schule. Both were on the scale of a German Elementar- und Bürger-Schule. In both attention was paid to gymnastics, and in the Zions-Schule also to music, drawing, and laboratory work. A large quantity of charts, instruments, stuffed birds and animals added to the interest and efficiency of the teaching in natural science. In addition to these two schools there were a large number of other independent private schools in Baltimore. The Wacker-Schule in South Baltimore, founded in 1851, had about

[1] This happened about 1890; the ever increasing annual deficits had for a long time been made up by friends of the school.

four hundred pupils in 1870. At the same time there were about two hundred and fifty in attendance at the Diesterweg-Institut in East Baltimore. There was a Hebrew German-English school in existence for fifteen years, with about one hundred and fifty pupils in 1870. Then there were a large number of German Catholic schools, the Alfonsus, St. Johannes, and others, with about six hundred pupils. The total number of pupils in the German schools of Baltimore in 1870 is estimated at over five thousand. The advantages of the best German over the public schools at that time was that the pupils were taught to think, and not held to learn by rote. Commonly when the German boys passed into the city high schools they found the competition for honors easy.

There were also several good German schools for girls in Baltimore, particularly the Reinhardt-Schule and the school of Fräulein Küster. The former was related to all others as was the Zions-Schule to its rivals. The Reinhardt School was founded in 1861 by the two sisters Marianne and Mathilde Reinhardt; after the latter's death Fräulein Bertha Reinhardt took her place and subsequently served for many years as principal, until the closing of the school. The number of pupils at the beginning was nine, and it gradually increased to one hundred and fifty. The school was closed in 1891 because of the failing health of Fräulein Marianne Reinhardt, who for some years previously had been unable to continue. There were always more children of American than of German parentage in the school. Both German and English were used in the class-room as parallel languages, just as in the Zions-Schule; French was taught from the third grade on to graduation; the pedagogical methods of the school were German. The pupils were not of the earliest age, but were given the more advanced and

finished part of their education.[1] The other German school, that of Fräulein Küster, took younger pupils. The example of Baltimore is but one of many that might be brought to bear, showing the activity of the Germans in this country along educational lines when in the same localities the native population was still indifferent.

A magnificent foundation for a private school was provided by Jacob Tome, born in Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1810, the son of German Lutherans. Since his settlement at Port Deposit, Maryland, in 1833, he had acquired great wealth in the lumber and grain trade. He became a leading financier and promoter of enterprises in his state like Martin Baum of Cincinnati at an earlier day. General Grant offered him the position of Secretary of the Treasury, which he declined.[2] He was a trustee of Dickinson College, and in 1884 made the college the gift of a science building. Five years later he founded the Jacob Tome Institute, with the object of providing an advanced education for the children of poor parents who were unable to pay for it. The original donation was two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but this was increased by the terms of the benefactor's will to three million dollars, making the school one of the richest of the kind in the world. The character of the institution has since changed to that of a high-class preparatory school of the class of Phillips Academy (Exeter and Andover) or the Lawrenceville Preparatory School.[3]

[1] Some of the names of the American pupils were as follows: Misses Basshor, Briscoe, Buchler, Butler, the Misses Carey, Miss Carter (principal of St. Timothy's School, Catonsville); Misses Cathcart, Clark, Crawford, Cuyler, Darrell, Davison, Dixon, Easter, Gould, Grafflin, Hazlehurst, Hill, Hopkins, Horwitz, Hunter, Jamison, Lansdale, Lynn, Page, Price, Robbins, Rogers, Rugby, Schwartze, Smith, Waters, Webster, West, and Whitman. These names were furnished the writer by Miss Bertha Reinhardt.

[2] Cf. Lamb, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[3] The present director of the "Tome School for Boys," Dr. Thomas Stock-

A glance at the statistics of German schools in the United States will prove conclusively that the study of German is not disappearing in this country among the Germans themselves. There are hundreds of parochial and private German schools in the country, mostly founded by the Lutheran and Catholic denominations. The Lutheran synods together have over twenty-one hundred schools, about twenty-five hundred teachers, and over one hundred thousand pupils.[1] In all of these the German language is given a prominent place, not, however, to the exclusion of English. The colleges and universities of our country are more and more requiring German for graduation, or even for entrance. Twenty-five years ago French was considered the polite language throughout the country, and to-day, in some parts of the East, French is still preferred to German, but the existence of the "German Belt" gives the study of German the advantage. The sales of the leading publishers of the modern language books to-day seem to show that the study of German is

ham Baker (Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University), has a thorough acquaintance with German schools from personal observation, and has said in a recent address: "Notwithstanding the criticisms which are made of the German schools, there is no doubt that the scientific supremacy which Germany holds is based on her common schools. Before entering the university the German has received the kind of drill which will control his entire career. He has learned the inviolability of scientific accuracy. He has acquired that power of attention to details which has made German scientific work exhaustive and thorough. Above all he has amassed an amount of information which would stagger the ordinary American boy. But the German schools have proceeded from what might be called a more liberal source than our American schools. They have been developed from the Latin school of the Middle Ages. They are saturated with traditions of high scholarship." (*The Education of Boys*, Commencement Address, Johns Hopkins University, June 8, 1909. Printed in Johns Hopkins University Circulars.)

[1] Cf. Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*, pp. 181–221. (Berlin, 1904.) The names of the schools and long lists of teachers' names are given in this work. Cf. also Viereck, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts.*

now increasing more rapidly in the East than French in the West,[1] that therefore the study of German is gaining, while French is losing ground. The teachers of German have formed a coöperative association known as the "Lehrerbund," a union of the teachers of German in universities and secondary schools throughout the United States. Annual conventions (*Lehrertage*) have been held, and the common concerns and interests of their profession have been discussed and more clearly defined. More and more the German-American becomes conscious of the advantages that are derived from the ability to use two languages. The study of German is aided greatly by the attitude of American scholars,[2] so well represented in the words of President Daniel C. Gilman: "As Latin was the language of the scholar during the Middle Ages, so the knowledge of German is now indispensable for any one who claims the name of a student and scholar."

The reform method of teaching modern languages, which has taken possession of the German Realschule with

[1] The writer bases this statement upon replies received in answer to his queries from the leading publishers of modern language books in the United States.

[2] While men of German blood predominate as professors of the German language and literature, some of the most eminent and influential teachers of the subject are of native American birth, examples of the veteran class being William H. Carpenter (Columbia), Starr W. Cutting (Chicago), W. H. Carruth (Kansas), J. T. Hatfield (Northwestern), W. T. Hewett (Cornell), M. D. Learned (Pennsylvania), L. A. McLouth (New York University), A. H. Palmer (Yale), Calvin Thomas (Columbia), H. S. White (Harvard), Henry Wood (Johns Hopkins). The German element in the same class is represented by H. C. G. Brandt (Hamilton), Hermann Collitz (Johns Hopkins), G. O. Curme (Northwestern), R. W. Deering (Western Reserve), Hanno Deiler (Tulane), Kuno Francke (Harvard), Julius Goebel (Illinois), Otto Heller (Washington Univ., St. Louis), Gustav Gruener (Yale), George Hempl (Leland Stanford), A. R. Hohlfeld (Wisconsin), K. D. Jessen (Bryn Mawr), H. K. Schilling (California), H. Schönfeld (G. Washington), H. C. G. Von Jagemann (Harvard), C. Von Klenze (Brown), Ernst Voss (Wisconsin).

wonderful results, has also come to America. Its main principle, that of teaching German as a living language, i. e., employing the aid of the eye and the ear of the student and engaging his interest and attention to the utmost to enable him to use the language as a native, i. e., to speak and write as well as read it, is being successfully applied in schools and colleges of the United States. The reform method, though modified to suit our needs, has been a wonderful means of reawakening our study of the art of teaching modern languages.

There is a German educational influence still going on, the full extent of which cannot now be measured. It is that of vocational teaching. The world generally recognizes that Germany's present power if not supremacy in the commercial world is due to her schools. All countries, including proud Britannia, are making efforts to import the secret of success from Germany's trade-schools. These include not only the higher technical colleges, such as the one at Charlottenburg, but the lower trade-schools, on private, trade, and government foundations, which day and night instruct the ambitious German youth of every class in the methods of improving both himself and his particular branch of industry. Our consular reports[1] are loudly sounding the praises and defining the methods of these educational factors. Vocational teaching shows a young man what is demanded of him in the world and gives him his place. The immediate effect in our own country seems to be a broadening of manual training instruction, its entry into the public school system more intensively than before, the establishment of trade-schools on the German model, and even the

[1] Cf. e. g., *Special Consular Reports*, vol. xxxiii. (Washington, 1905.) *Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany*, Deputy Consul Meyer, Chemnitz, Germany.

shaping of courses at our colleges according to varied vocational purposes.

To epitomize the German influences upon education in the United States, we may say that the kindergarten and the university are altogether fashioned after the German models. The secondary schools were developed by native Americans, who took suggestions from European schools, but particularly from the Prussian. The American college was adapted from the English pattern, but more even than the other forms has become Americanized. The American college is a social as much as an educational institution. The German university has for its ideal, not as the American college primarily service for the state, but service for humanity at large through the pursuit of truth, the advancement of human knowledge, — an ideal so well expressed in the motto of Francis Lieber : —

> "Patria cara,
> Carior libertas,
> Veritas carissima."

Characteristic is the fact that the most German of American universities, Johns Hopkins, which slipped the leash of the baying hounds of research in America, has for its motto : "The truth will make you free." There are German educational influences which history is not yet ready to record, viz., in vocational téaching, and the future may have in store also an American influence upon Germany, the foundation there of a college after the American pattern.[1]

[1] The University of Hamburg, for which the American college idea has been suggested. The students are expected to be a class of men destined to be the leaders of German commerce, manufacture, transportation, and politics. Cf. Münsterberg, *Aus Deutsch Amerika*, pp. 176–195. *Eine deutsche Hochschule nach amerikanischem Vorbild.* (Mittler & Sohn, 1909.) Cf. also Dr. F. Sieveking, *Die Hamburger Universität.* (Hamburg, 1905.)

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT

I. MUSIC AND THE FINE ARTS

(A) MUSIC: Unfavorable conditions before 1850 — The New England psalm-singers — Music in Philadelphia in the early period; the first ambitious concert of 1786 — Music in other places; organ music in New York; the choral singing at Ephrata and at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, 1815; the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia, 1820 — Development of instrumental music: Gottlieb Graupner in Boston; Philharmonic Society of New York; Germania Orchestra; Theodore Thomas; Boston Symphony Orchestra; other orchestras, and musical organizations — Chamber music — Oratorio Societies — "Männerchöre" and other German singing-societies — "Sänger-feste" in the East and West — The "Musikverein" of Milwaukee — The development of opera performances — French opera at New Orleans — English, Italian, and German opera in New York — Parsifal — The Moravian musical festivals — American composers — Germans as teachers of music.

(B) PAINTING: Early art — Two periods of German influence: (1) The Düsseldorf School: Leutze, Bierstadt; (2) The Munich School: Carl Marr — German-American artists — German teachers of art in the United States — The example of Otto Fuchs.

(C) SCULPTURE: Early German sculptors; William H. Rinehart — The new era produced by exposition sculpture; Carl Bitter and F. W. Ruckstuhl — Monuments and statues, C. H. Niehaus, Triebel, Harnisch, Volk, etc. — H. Linder, artist-artisan — Members of the National Sculpture Society.

(D) ARCHITECTURE: The Romanesque revival — The steel-frame building — American cottage architecture — The Chicago school and modern German architecture — Dome of the National Capitol; Thomas U. Walter — The Library of Congress; Smithmeyer and Pelz — St. Louis Union Station; T. C. Link — Other Germans in architecture.

(E) GRAPHIC ARTS: Illustrators; designers; artist-photographers.

A. Music

THE social influence of the German element in the United States consists in the emphasis laid upon the cultivation

of those arts and habits which divert from the narrow path of selfish interest or material gain, and which elevate, ennoble, and increase the joy of living. During the eighteenth and a large part of the nineteenth century European travelers were appalled by the gravity, melancholy, and monotony of American social life. Whether possessed by the ambition for material advancement or inflamed with the zeal of laying up stores for the life hereafter, the old type of American was equally serious, rigid, and narrow. As late as 1831, when Mrs. Trollope[1] wrote down her experiences in the United States, she felt herself justified in saying: "I never saw a population so totally divested of gayety; there is no trace of this feeling from one end of the Union to the other. They have no fêtes, no fairs, no merry-makings, no music in the streets, no Punch, no puppet-shows. If they see a comedy or a farce, they may laugh at it; but they can do very well without it. A distinguished publisher of Philadelphia told me that no comic publication[2] had ever yet been found to answer in America.[3]

And again she quotes a German woman whom she casually met in Philadelphia: "They do not love music, oh no! and they never amuse themselves — no; and their hearts are not warm, at least they seem not so to strangers; and they have no ease, no forgetfulness of business and of care — no, not for a moment. But I will not stay long, I think, for I should not live." [4]

[1] Mrs. Trollope, mother of the novelist, Anthony Trollope, lived in America several years, 1827–1831, principally in Cincinnati. On her return to England in 1832, she published her famous book, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, reprinted by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1894, two volumes.

[2] It will be shown in Chapter VII that Germans introduced caricature in America. "Puck," the first comic paper, was founded by a German in 1876.

[3] Mrs. Trollope, vol. i, pp. 296–297.

[4] Mrs. Trollope, vol. ii, p. 82. The German woman probably said: "Ich könnte nicht leben."

There can be no question as to the accuracy of the criticism contained in the above quotations. It represents the consensus of opinion of cultivated European travelers at that period.[1] But American types change rapidly, and the native American has ever shown himself capable of rapid development. That change from an inherited bondage of lack-mirth to a freer humanity and a more beautiful, joyous existence on earth, has been wrought through foreign influence. Music and art came from Europe, and were planted on American soil, sometimes by native Americans trained abroad, oftener, especially at the early periods, by foreigners who devoted their lives to the noble cause of art in a barren land of little promise or appreciation. To them belongs the glory of having prepared the soil for succeeding generations.

Nowhere has this foreign cultivation been more evident than in music, and in this department the German influence has been supreme and lasting. The thesis may be maintained without hesitation, that the Germans are responsible for the development of musical taste in the United States. To illustrate this principle, it will be necessary to put the German influence within its setting; that is, to mark its continued presence in a brief historical outline of American music.

Neither of the centres of cultural influence, Boston nor Philadelphia, was a promising field for musical development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Puritans of New England harbored a like distrust of music. The Puritans would have abolished it entirely but for the fact that the ancient Hebrews had

[1] For a sketch of the critical literature on America, see H. T. Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators.* (New York. Charles Scribner, 1864.) The subject is brought up to date by J. G. Brooks, *As Others See Us.* (Macmillan, 1908.) J. F. Muirhead, *The Land of Contrasts.* (1900.)

sung psalms in their religious service.[1] At first but five tunes were used in their psalmody, until the "Bay Psalm Book," published in 1640, increased the number. Hymns were not yet permitted in Boston and Plymouth, but a few found admittance in a succeeding edition of the "Bay Psalm Book" (1647), in which more than fifty melodies were suggested. Regarding church music, such questions as these agitated the congregation, whether one person should sing for all the rest, the congregation joining only in spirit, singing "Amen"; whether women should be permitted to sing, or men alone; whether church members only, or all Christians. The Reverend John Cotton, an ardent advocate of singing in church, published in 1647 a tract by means of which he endeavored to remove some of the existing prejudices against singing.[2]

Still out of this barren soil there sprang the first beginnings of American music. Out of psalm-singing there developed the singing-schools. One of the latter existed in Boston as early as 1717. An organ imported from England in 1713, by Mr. Thomas Brattle of Boston, had had little influence. About the middle of the eighteenth century choir-singing took the place of the crude psalm-singing by the congregation. The next step in improvement was the appearance of some native composers, of whom William Billings was most important. Born in Boston in 1746, and apprenticed to a tanner, he became the "Hans Sachs" of New England singing, self-taught and a teacher of song. He had the virtue of being understood,—"a Beethoven could have obtained no hearing in the eighteenth century."[3] In 1770, encouraged by several of his attempts

[1] Cf. Louis C. Elson, *The History of American Music*, p. 2. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904.)

[2] Dr. Frederic Louis Ritter, *Music in America*, new edition, p. 7. (Scribner's Sons, New York, 1895.)

[3] Cf. Elson, p. 19.

at setting songs, he published "The New England Psalm Singer, or American Chorister." A school of imitators followed his example, "Yankee Psalm-Tune Smiters," or "Cornstalk Fiddlers," as the English derisively called them,[1] but their humble efforts are of great historical importance. To this number belonged a German, Hans Gram. "Gram was not a strong harmonist, though better than Billings and others of that time. Billings possessed more originality than Gram, whose tunes were written in the spirit and form of the German choral, and one 'Devotion,' is quite an acceptable piece."[2] He was organist in Brattle Church, Boston, in 1793, one of the few professional instrumental musicians in Boston at that time.

Not Boston but Philadelphia was the art centre of America in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The large German churches had long cultivated vocal and instrumental music. Gottlieb Mittelberger[3] was for three years, 1751–1754, organist of the German St. Augustine's Church in New Providence, County of Philadelphia. Excellent English organists in the city broadened the musical interests of the people. The first really ambitious concert given in this country took place in Philadelphia, May 4, 1786.[4] It was given at the Reformed German Church in Race Street. A grand concert combining vocal and instrumental music with two hundred and thirty vocal and fifty instrumental performers, and a programme of classical music, gave evidence of rising musical taste. The Salem "Gazette" declared it "the most complete both with respect to number and accuracy of execution, ever, on any occasion, combined

[1] Ritter, p. 75. [2] Ritter, p. 120.

[3] Cf. Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754* (translated from the German), p. 14. (Philadelphia, 1898.)

[4] Elson, p. 24.

in this city and perhaps throughout America."[1] The first suggestion for this concert was given by the example of a sacred concert in Boston combined with a religious service in King's Chapel, January 10, 1786.[2] The concert was by no means as ambitious as the one in Philadelphia. Philadelphia had a musical association as early as 1740,[3] an organ was located in Christ Church in Philadelphia soon after 1700, and a few music-teachers resided there at an early date. The Quakers were as much opposed to music as the Puritans, and the musical progress of Philadelphia at this early time is to be ascribed in great measure to the large German population of the city.

In New York the best music was found in the Episcopalian congregations, Trinity Church upholding something of the dignity of the English cathedral music. Otherwise New York at this early period was not in the foreground musically, no more than in economical or political matters. Baltimore and New Orleans showed some musical activity in those early days, but their more remote geographical location prevented a progressive influence on American music.

A musical factor which is frequently overlooked in the history of American music is the choral work of the anchorites at Ephrata, and the vocal and instrumental music of the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and their other colonies. The Moravians undoubtedly had the first regular music schools in America long before the Boston Musical Academy and the Philadelphia Musical Fund So-

[1] Elson, p. 24.

[2] The programme of this concert, consisting of the music of Handel, Haydn, and Bach, can be found in Ritter, pp. 114–115. In October, 1789, a concert was given in honor of President Washington's visit to Boston, the music chosen being also largely from oratorios.

[3] Elson, p. 25.

ciety were dreamed of.[1] In Bethlehem and at Ephrata even in the eighteenth century music was diligently studied, and Philadelphia was at times glad to borrow musicians from the Moravians for her early festivals. The Moravian music undoubtedly had an effect beyond Pennsylvania, and it is not impossible that it influenced the first New England composers. Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Ephrata Monastery, wrote a treatise on harmony, the first to be published in the Western world, fully a quarter of a century before William Billings published his "New England Psalm Singer." Beissel had little understanding of the laws of harmony and none whatever of meter and rhythm. He was not intimately acquainted with German church music. His work therefore is interesting as one of the first crude attempts made in America to compose sacred music. It is not altogether improbable that one of the tune-books of Beissel was largely instrumental in shaping the musical work of the "Yankee Tanner."[2] Hymn-books for the Ephrata Community were printed by Franklin in 1730, 1732, and 1736, and by Sauer in 1739. There was at first in the monastery a male and a female chorus, the latter being continued longer. The visitors commented on "the peculiar sweetness and weird beauty of the song of the sisterhood," and "the impressive cadence of the chorals and hymns of the combined choirs"; some writers even dwell on the "angelic or celestial quality of the vocal music as it floated through the spaces of the large Saal, as the responses were sung and reverberated from gallery to choir."

[1] See Elson, p. 339. The societies named will be spoken of in succeeding paragraphs.

[2] Cf. Dr. Julius F. Sachse, *Music of the Ephrata Cloister*, p. 3. (Lancaster, 1903.) This work is invaluable for its detailed information concerning the Ephrata music. Some musical scores recently found are there reprinted.

Much of the beauty of the music was no doubt due to the quality of the voices and the way they were used.[1]

A mark of progress in the development of music in America was the formation of musical societies. The earliest in New England was that which was started through the influence of William Billings and his music class in 1774. This was the link between the early psalm-singing and the later oratorio societies. The Stoughton Musical Society was organized after the close of the War of Independence, in November, 1786. Membership was for a long time confined to men. The reaction against the Billings school resulted in the foundation of the most influential of all choral societies in New England, namely, the Handel and Haydn Society, in 1815. The impulse for its foundation was given by the "Peace Concert" in honor of the close of the War of 1812, held on Washington's Birthday, 1815, in King's Chapel. One of the leading figures in the movement was the German, Gottlieb Graupner, in whose music store or hall the first assembly was held. Some of the leading men of Boston contributed to the society's foundation. On the succeeding Christmas evening the first grand oratorio was given to a delighted audience of 945 persons. Haydn's "Creation" was rendered, together with selections from the oratorios of Händel. Almost all the singers in the first dozen concerts given by the society were native Americans, but European soloists were soon sought after in the more elaborate concerts given by the association. An illustration of the fact that the society took itself very seriously was the request to the great composer Beethoven for an oratorio specially composed for the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston.[2] The presidents

[1] Sachse, p. 11.

[2] *The Morgenblatt für Gebildete Leser*, November 5, 1823, alludes to an or-

of the society were for a long time its conductors. A distinct advance came with the appointment of a professional conductor in 1854. Carl Zerrahn (born in Mecklenburg, in 1826) was called to the position, and for more than forty years served as "the most prominent conductor on the society's list." [1] The following characterization has been given of his services: "Mr. Zerrahn was exactly the man for his time and place; he was not of the rank of a Thomas or of a Seidl, but his sure and decisive beat was as firm as a rock, and bred confidence even in the amateur singer. His unfailing good humor, his painstaking explanations made him the idol of all his choruses. He was the best possible leader for the transition period of American choruses and orchestral music, and one of the most important factors in their advance.[2]

Instrumental music was not heard in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as often as vocal music, and not as frequently in New England as in the cities of Baltimore, New Orleans, Philadelphia, or New York. Boston, however, claims the honor of having had the first organ-builder in America, Eduard Bromfield, in 1745. The German, Gottlieb Graupner, had a musical establishment in Boston at No. 6 Franklin Street, in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The first piano was probably constructed by John Behrent (a German name), in Philadel-

atorio with English text for Boston as a projected work of Beethoven. The composition, however, was never carried out. In later years the society made an appeal to Robert Franz to finish the additional accompaniments to Händel's *Messiah*, and the Handel and Haydn Society was thus enabled to give the complete version of the great masterpiece for the first time. Elson, p. 32.

[1] On his retirement in 1895, a thorough musical reorganization began under the direction of Emil Mollenhauer, born in Brooklyn, of German descent, and at present conductor of the society.

[2] Elson, p. 36.

phia, his native town, in 1774.[1] New York claims to have had piano-makers as early as 1785.

Boston has put on record the first orchestral director and the first prominent orchestra in the country. The pioneer was the German musician already mentioned, Gottlieb Graupner, whom Elson calls the father of American orchestral music. He was an oboe-player in a Hanoverian regiment, leaving it in 1788 with an honorable discharge. After that he played his instrument, the oboe, in London in a large orchestra, and subsequently drifted to Charleston and to Boston. In the latter city he gathered about him a nucleus of professionals and amateurs, and after they had played together some time at regular intervals, he formed the Philharmonic Society in 1810, which was already in existence when the Handel and Haydn Society was founded. At first it had only ten or twelve members, who met on Saturday evenings and practiced Haydn's symphonies and other classical music. From that the membership grew to greater numbers and influence.[2]

Philadelphia probably had an orchestra earlier than Boston, thanks to its large German population. There is a record of several musicians from Hamburg forming a band as early as 1783. The organization of greatest influence, however, in Philadelphia and beyond, was the Musical Fund Society. It was constructed on a broader foundation than the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Begun in 1820, it arranged both sacred and secular programmes, combined instrumental and vocal music at its concerts, founded a school, built a music-hall, and gave assistance to indigent professional musicians. Beethoven's First Symphony was played by this organization probably for the

[1] Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, vol. ii, p. 879. Elson, p. 43.
[2] Cf. Ritter, pp. 120–121, and Elson, p. 50.

first time in this country. It continued to give concerts until 1857.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century New York began to show its mettle, and soon took the lead in orchestral music. Just as the Handel and Haydn Society had set a high standard for vocal music in Boston, so the Philharmonic Society established a new record of achievement in New York. The founder of the society was Uriah C. Hill, born in New York City about 1802. He had studied in Germany with Louis Spohr, and though a mediocre violinist, he was a good organizer and leader. He was assisted by Henry C. Timm, born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1811, one of the most faithful members of the society, and for a long period a strong musical force in New York City as a performer and teacher of music. We find in his "Reminiscences" that "the work of the society was a very uphill struggle, both musically and financially. I remember one season when after paying expenses each member received $17.50 as his share. It was, however, rather a labor of love than anything else, and we persevered. We had, however, in the course of years, a gradual acquisition of new and very good members coming almost exclusively from Germany, so that after the eighth season I gave up my trombone to a much better player than I was. We also engaged permanent able conductors, such as Mr. Theodore Eisfeld and afterwards Carl Bergmann, so everything was gradually improved."[1] Mr. Timm was president of the Philharmonic Society for some years, and after his resignation continued to be of service to the society — to quote his own words: "I seem to have been for over twenty-five years a kind of 'sine qua non' at all concerts given at

[1] Reminiscences of Mr. Timm's labors in America are printed in Ritter, pp. 372–375.

that time, playing accompaniments to all soloists both vocal and instrumental — and this was my forte rather than anything else." The society gave its first concert in December, 1842, and had an orchestra of fifty or sixty performers. All of its great leaders were German, Theodore Eisfeld and Carl Bergmann, 1849–1866; subsequently Dr. Leopold Damrosch, Theodore Thomas, Adolph Neuendorff, Anton Seidl, Walter Damrosch, Emil Paur. The membership of the New York Philharmonic Society became more and more Germanized. At the beginning there were twenty-two Germans among fifty-two performers; in 1865 the orchestra was increased to eighty-one musicians, of whom seventy were Germans; about twenty-five years later there were eighty-nine Germans out of ninety-four players.[1]

About the middle of the nineteenth century America was visited by a number of traveling orchestras, who met with varying success, never flattering. The most important of all by far was the Germania Orchestra. It consisted originally of twenty-three young musical artists, many of them members of Gungl's Berlin Orchestra, most of them refugees of 1848. They gave their first concert in New York City, October 5, 1848, and were under the leadership of Carl Lenschow until 1850. During the remaining four years of their existence their director was Carl Bergmann. In this orchestra there could be found a soloist for every instrument, and the beginning was made for artistic interpretation of musical works according to European standards. The experiences of these men are of historical interest. In New York a rival orchestral society already existed in the New York Philharmonic Society, but the latter treated the new-comers hospitably and revived their

[1] Cf. Ritter, p. 356.

spirits with a benefit concert. The soloists of the Germania won a great triumph on this occasion before a crowded house. They excited intense interest in New York City, but their financial returns were discouraging. Thence they traveled to Philadelphia, and, after giving four concerts in the Music Fund Hall and two more in another locality, all of which were very poorly attended, they resolved to try their fortunes in Arch Street Hall, beginning their series of concerts on January 1, 1849. The rental of this "spacious and imposing structure" was to be ten dollars per night, and on this eventful New Year's evening, after waiting patiently for the arrival of the latest comer, the receipts amounted to nine dollars and fifty cents. In the middle of the programme the proprietor of the hall appeared in person and announced to the unhappy musicians that unless the rental of ten dollars were paid then and there, the gas would be turned off. With the utmost promptness the despairing members one and all desired him to turn it off, and so ended the first and last of the "promenade concerts."[1]

After this experience the Germania Orchestra was ready to disband, but fortunately a profitable engagement was offered from Washington, which was accepted. After their Washington concert they went to Baltimore, where unexpectedly they found due recognition for their masterful performances. There within two weeks they gave ten concerts, successful in every particular. They next visited Boston, giving concerts in several New England towns on the way. Their first audiences in Boston, though small, were composed of connoisseurs. Six of their ten selections were encored, and the reputation of the Germania was an

[1] Ritter, p. 339. Perhaps the small attendance was due in part to the reluctance of the Philadelphians to go out during the holiday season.

established fact in Boston. Twenty concerts were given in rapid succession to overflowing houses, and the name of the now famous orchestra made its way speedily to all other cities that had any musical pretensions. The proprietor of Castle Garden, New York, offered the orchestra an engagement to play at summer festivals arranged at that establishment. Summer concerts were also given with success at Newport. During the six years of their organization they visited all the principal cities of the East, West, and South, and gave 829 concerts, not counting their performances of cantatas and oratorios arranged by local choral societies, to which the Germania played orchestral accompaniments.[1] Some of the greatest soloists of the world appeared in the Germania concerts, as Jenny Lind and Henrietta Sontag, Tedesco, Ole Bull, and August Kreissmann. Most of their concerts were given in Boston, though they played often in the large cities, and revisited Philadelphia with better success. The hardships of traveling and a desire to create permanent homes for themselves caused the members to disband in 1854, the announcement of which caused universal regret throughout the country. Within six years this orchestra had done more for the advancement of musical taste in America than any similar organization before them. The fire of their youthful genius, and their artistic expression thrilled audiences wherever they went. But if their labors as an organization ceased, as individuals they began a new epoch. Wherever a member of the Germania settled down, he established on the spot a nucleus about which there gathered the choicest musical spirits of that region. Many of the artists began a more glorious career after the disbandment of the Germania, as, for example, Carl Zerrahn,

[1] Ritter, pp. 340 ff.

the original first flute of the Germania, who then became and remained the director for more than forty years of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Carl Bergmann was chosen director of the New York Philharmonic Society, and remained in that position until his death. William Schultze became the director of the musical department of Syracuse University, and Carl Sentz a conductor of orchestral concerts in Philadelphia.

The musical critic Elson has called Gottlieb Graupner the father of American orchestral music, chronologically, bestowing the crown of achievement, however, upon Theodore Thomas. In regard to producing high standards of execution in technique and *ensemble*, and introducing an epoch of true interpretation as in Europe, Theodore Thomas has done more than any other man in America. He was born in Esens (within the present province of Hanover, Prussia) in 1835, and came to this country with his parents at the early age of ten. He first became prominent in connection with William Mason in the Mason-Thomas chamber concerts. Believing New York City large enough to support two orchestras, Thomas in 1864 commenced his symphonic soirées. There again arose a rivalry between the well-established Philharmonic Society and the new enterprise. The result was beneficial to the cause of music, forcing both organizations to the limit of their power. The Philharmonic Society raised the number of its orchestra to one hundred players; Thomas on particular occasions also increased his numbers. In order to keep his orchestra continuously under his control he inaugurated garden concerts in the summer of 1866, hoping that New York, like Berlin, would patronize such entertainments. The venture was successful for a few summers, until the novelty wore off, when it had to be

abandoned. During the winter Thomas made tours throughout the United States, renewing, though on a somewhat larger scale, the pioneer work and experiences for good and bad of the old Germania Orchestra. The symphony concerts in New York, which had met with fair pecuniary success, were discontinued in 1879, when Thomas was called to the directorship of the newly established Cincinnati College of Music. After an absence of two years he returned to New York as conductor of the New York Philharmonic Society, his former rival. In order to give his programmes an up-to-date interest, Thomas frequently introduced modern orchestral works of what were then the younger composers, Wagner, Liszt, Berlioz, Brahms, Rubinstein, Raff, Saint-Saëns, and others. But, as was the case with the old Germania Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic Society, "the instrumental compositions of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, proved his richest sources."[1]

The influence of Thomas's Orchestra was not only felt in New York City, but throughout the country. New orchestras sprang up in large American cities and the old organizations were stimulated to greater efforts. Boston took a new start. The Harvard Musical Association, composed of students at Harvard College with high aims in music, had been a good training-school of musical taste, but Boston had remained stationary in the classical music of Händel, Haydn, and Beethoven. Young European musicians chafed under the restraint, and were ready to establish a new order of things. As soon as their numbers were large enough, they founded the Philharmonic Society, in 1880, a rival to the Harvard Musical Association.

[1] The estimate of Ritter, p. 379.

The conductors were successively Bernhardt Listemann, Louis Maas, and Carl Zerrahn. There were not enough rehearsals, with consequent inadequate execution, and the result was that a third orchestra was founded, the fame of which has since gone all over the land, the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The public-spirited banker, H. L. Higginson, overcame the financial difficulties and placed the organization at once on a permanent foundation. Saturday evening, before that time the eve of solemn preparation for the Sabbath (or, as the humorist declares, "Tub Night"), in New England, was used now as a concert evening. The first conductor was Georg Henschel (born in Breslau, Germany, 1850). In the opening season the society had sixty-seven members and gave twenty concerts. Each concert was preceded by a public rehearsal after the plan of some of the foreign orchestras and as already initiated by the New York Philharmonic Society. In 1884 Henschel went abroad, and his place was taken by another German, Wilhelm Gericke (born in Graz, Austria, 1845). Gericke was a superb drill-master, and made of the organization an instrument perfect of its kind. In 1889 Arthur Nikisch took charge of this perfected instrument and for four years played with it as a master. In 1893 Emil Paur (born in Austria, 1855) became conductor, until he removed to New York, five years later. What Thomas at this time did for interpretation in the West, Paur stood for in the East. In the following year Gericke was called again to the conductorship, and the real creator of the great orchestra remained at his work until 1906.

Theodore Thomas was destined to play a great rôle in the development of musical taste in the West, after having been so conspicuous in the East. His first visit to

the West was in 1869, when he gave three concerts in Chicago. His next experience was in connection with the Musical College at Cincinnati as its first director, 1879–1881. In 1890 he was called to Chicago to develop and lead her symphonic orchestra. Fifty business men subscribed one thousand dollars each, annually, for three years. Thomas placed at the service of the orchestra his private musical library, the largest of its kind in the world, a collection of orchestral scores such as only a large institution could hope to acquire. There was uphill work to do at Chicago, since the city had not had the same opportunities as some Eastern centres. Large losses faced the subscribers every year, many of whom pleaded for more melodic programmes, while the "old fogies" found fault with the conductor's radicalism. Thomas, however, would not descend to the public, but forced the public to come up to him. His spirit was self-assured and inflexible as Wagner's. The material available for the Chicago orchestra was not as good as in the East, but the individuality of Thomas made his orchestra. While the Boston Symphony Orchestra was phenomenal as a perfect musical instrument, the exceptional quality in Thomas's Orchestra was the genius of leadership and interpretation. The courage and genius of Thomas inspired all others to emulate his example.

The three established orchestras, at Boston, New York, and Chicago, all of them built up by and generally composed of German musicians, aroused musical ambitions in other cities. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Washington, Buffalo, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Kansas City, and San Francisco all have orchestras now of more or less permanence, and generally conducted by German musical artists or native Americans with German

training (very frequently Americans of German descent).[1] The Philadelphia Orchestra has had for its conductor Fritz Scheel, who made a strong impression in the musical world. Patrons of the society are Dr. and Mrs. Edward I. Keffer, and through their efforts, in addition to the regular high-priced concerts, the orchestra gives concerts to the people at an admission fee of ten cents. A similar attempt to popularize orchestral music was made in New York City by Franz X. Arens (born in Rhenish Prussia, in 1856). In 1900 he founded the People's Symphony Concerts, which are given at Cooper Union Hall. Classical programmes are rendered with great success, and standing-room is often not obtainable.

In New York City a number of other orchestras were called into being, such as the New York Symphony Society, chartered in 1879, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Leopold Damrosch (born in Posen, Germany; both his sons were born in Breslau, Prussia). At the death of the father in 1885, the baton descended to Walter J. Damrosch, his son. This organization aroused the competition again of the veteran Philharmonic Society, and the cause of music as before derived benefits from the musical rivalry. Anton Seidl, the operatic leader, founded the Seidl Orchestral Society, and it is probable that his enthusiastic friends would have made the organization a permanent one

[1] e. g., F. Zech, conductor of the Symphony Orchestra in San Francisco, was born in Philadelphia, of German descent, and received his training in Berlin; Van der Stucken (born in Texas of a German mother), trained in Germany mainly, is leader of the Symphony Concerts of Cincinnati; Victor Herbert, conductor of the Pittsburg Orchestra, was born in Ireland, but received his musical education in Germany. Other noted conductors are Max Bendix, successor of Thomas, and after the latter's resignation sole conductor of the Exposition Orchestra of one hundred and fourteen artists at the World's Columbian Exposition; and Arthur Mees, one of Thomas's most prominent assistants and followers.

had his sudden death in 1898 not intervened. Another orchestra was founded by Hermann Hans Wetzler (born in Frankfort) in 1902, for the interpretation of classical masterpieces. As a result of such competition orchestral music in America has risen to a high standard, and various foreign orchestras that have come to this country heralded from afar have not equaled the standard of the best of the present American organizations.

The history of chamber music in the United States is likewise largely that of German influences. The first string quartet seems to have been organized in 1843 by the native American, Uriah C. Hill, but its performances were not of a high order. The first artistic work was done by the Mendelssohn Quintet Club of Boston, whose influence in this branch was as important as that of the Germania Orchestra in another department. Of the original five, three of the names were German, viz., August Fries, Edward Lehman, Wulf Fries; Carl Meisel replaced Francis Riha after the first year. In 1855 New York had a famous quintet, founded by Mason and Thomas. The members were William Mason, pianist; Theodore Thomas, first violin; Joseph Mosenthal, second violin; George Matzka, viola; Carl Bergmann, violoncello. Probably every leading city of the present day has its quintet or quartet, furnishing classical music. The most famous organization of this kind has been for some time the Kneisel Quartet. The conductor, Franz Kneisel, was born in Roumania, of German parentage, in 1865. He has been concert-master of the Hofburg Theater Orchestra in Vienna, of Bilse's Orchestra in Berlin, and of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

The development of choral went hand in hand with that of orchestral music. We have observed the influence of

the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston and the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia. The two leading spirits in the latter were Charles P. Hupfeld, of German birth, an excellent violinist, and Benjamin Carr, an English musical enthusiast. Hupfeld had drawn a coterie of music-lovers about him in the early days of the nineteenth century, not unlike the gatherings which Gottlieb Graupner brought together contemporaneously in Boston. Gradually a host of artists were held for permanent residence in Philadelphia. The society was interested both in vocal and instrumental music.

In New York City out of a quarrel between the governors and choristers of Zion Church, there arose the New York Sacred Music Society, in 1823. Its first great rival came in 1844, the Musical Institute, directed by H. C. Timm. He was the prominent German musician already mentioned in connection with the Philharmonic Society. "Mr. Timm's influence may be ranked almost as important at this time as Mr. U. C. Hill's, for it was in a large degree by his efforts that the chief elements of New York's choral societies were united in 1849, and its greatest choral society (up to that time) was born."[1] This was the New York Harmonic Society, which gave its first concert May 10, 1850. Its first conductors were Timm, and Eisfeld, followed by Bristow and Bergmann. In 1863 the Mendelssohn Union was founded by some members of the Harmonic Society; its conductors were not German until Theodore Thomas was called.

More far-reaching was the influence of the New York Oratorio Society, founded by Dr. Leopold Damrosch, who wished to found a society such as he had conducted at Breslau. Trinity Church offered its chapel for rehear-

[1] Elson, pp. 74–75.

sals until the Knabe Piano warerooms became available. The first concert of the Oratorio Society took place in Knabe Hall, December, 1873. After the death of the founder, his sons Walter and Frank Damrosch successively became the directors of the Oratorio Society.

The German-American population was not only very prominent in the establishment of oratorio societies, but also in the foundation of singing-clubs, which were of great influence in shaping the taste for vocal music in the entire city. Almost as old as the Philharmonic Society itself was the German singing-society "Der deutsche Liederkranz," organized in January, 1847.[1] Two German singing-societies had already existed in New York before this, but this Männerchor was far in advance of its predecessors. In 1856 it admitted women as members, which resulted in an enlargement of the programmes, including now almost the whole range of German composers, from Händel and Haydn to Richard Strauss. The German singing-societies avoided in their programmes many of the sacred selections which belong to the domain of other organizations and were not so well suited to the more convivial and social character of their clubs.

The admission of women caused dissension in the New York "Liederkranz," and there resulted the foundation of a Männerchor which was destined to become one of the most famous choruses of its kind in America. It began in 1854, and was called "Der Arion." Dr. Leopold Damrosch was its musical director.

The Männerchöre of New York City were not, however, the earliest in the country. Philadelphia and Baltimore had flourishing organizations of that kind a number of

[1] The society has a spacious and well-appointed clubhouse on Fifty-eighth Street, near Madison Avenue.

years before, and had taken the first steps toward arranging musical festivals in conjunction. In the spring of 1837 the two oldest German singing-societies, the Philadelphia Männerchor (founded, 1835) and the Baltimore Liederkranz (founded, 1836), paid one another a visit. The beginning[1] was made on a motion of the Baltimore organization, which invited the other to form a fraternal union. The Baltimore Liederkranz, on the thirteenth of March, 1837, visited Philadelphia, and the Männerchor of the latter city on the twenty-eighth of March made a return visit to Baltimore.[2] These are to be regarded as the first "Sängerfeste" in the musical history of our country. The mixed chorus was not an original idea with the New York Liederkranz, for April 24, 1838, the ladies of the choir of the Zionskirche in Baltimore were received as members into the Liederkranz. At the third joint "Sängerfest" of the Philadelphia and Baltimore organizations, held in Philadelphia, June 5, 1846, the public were admitted to hear the concerts, some of the festivities were conducted in the open air, and a similar festival occurred in Baltimore in autumn of the same year. The honor of having held the first festival in the open, however, belongs to the United Singers of Cincinnati, who held a celebration on May 31, 1846, on "Bald Hill." The Cincinnati "Lieder-

[1] The moving spirit in this enterprise was Philipp Matthias Wolsieffer (born in the Rhenish Palatinate, in 1808; arrived in Philadelphia, in 1835), a born musician, the founder of the Philadelphia Männerchor, and on his removal to Baltimore, where he became a teacher of the Zions-Schule, he became the founder also of the Baltimore Liederkranz. His leadership and acquaintance in both societies led to the joint concerts. Wolsieffer subsequently returned to Philadelphia, and was one of the promoters of Egg Harbor City, New Jersey. Cf. *German American Annals*, vol. iv, no. 6, pp. 171–179.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, p. 26. H. Rattermann, *Geschichte des ersten deutschen Sängerbundes von Nord-Amerika.*

tafel" and the "Gesang und Bildungsverein" took part in this festival.[1]

In the early period the following singing-societies were organized: The Philadelphia Männerchor, founded December 15, 1835, is the oldest singing-society in the United States, and still in flourishing condition. The Baltimore Liederkranz was founded in the same month of the following year. Then came, in 1838 or 1839, "Der deutsche Gesangverein" of Cincinnati. There developed from this in the same city "Die deutsche Liedertafel," regularly organized in 1844, though existing a year before. The New York Liederkranz, as stated above, was founded in 1847. Boston (Orpheus), Charleston (Teutonenbund, 1843), Buffalo, Pittsburg, and Cleveland had German singing-societies before or in the year 1848. Louisville, Kentucky, saw the foundation of its Liederkranz in 1848, and Cincinnati added its Orpheus in 1849 to the "Gesang und Bildungsverein" (founded in 1846). Madison in Indiana, Columbus in Ohio, and Saginaw in Michigan [2] soon had German singing-societies, and a very prominent rôle was assumed naturally by the organizations of St. Louis and Milwaukee. Every city at present with a German population has its singing-societies, the purposes of which are both musical and social.

The plan of a closer union between singing-societies of various localities and regular Sängerfeste with a competition for prizes was instituted by the Cincinnati Sängerfest of 1849.[3] Fritz Volkmar, the founder of the Liederkranz

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII, below, and *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 23 ff., etc.

[2] The Germania of Saginaw was founded in 1856. Cf. the pamphlet issued at the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation (1906): *Fünfzig Jahre deutschen Strebens, Gedenkblätter zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum der Germania von Saginaw, Michigan.* (1906.)

[3] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 27 ff.

of Louisville, was very active in starting the movement, as a result of which the three singing-societies of Cincinnati — the Liedertafel, Gesang und Bildungsverein and the Schweizerverein — invited all the German singing-societies in the United States for a Sängerfest. Only the Männerchöre of the surrounding states, however, accepted the invitation. The Eastern organizations did not respond, but they had a union subsequently of their own. It occurred in Philadelphia, in June, 1850, and there were represented, besides Philadelphia, New York, Newark, Baltimore, and Boston. Thus two organizations sprang into being, named respectively, the "Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund," in the West, and the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Sängerbund von Nordamerika," in the East. A controversy arose as to the propriety of the names adopted by the rival organizations, in settlement of which the Western societies, to show their priority, changed their title to "Erster Deutscher Sängerbund von Nordamerika," while the others, defining more narrowly their geographical location, assumed the name "Nordöstlicher Sängerbund von Nordamerika." The music festivals of the united German singing-societies both in the East and in the West have become important events in the musical history of our country. The general public is admitted to the prize concerts, which are remarkable not alone for the numbers of the participants, but likewise for the high grade of vocal music rendered. To vary the programmes of the festivals, which continue for three or four days, some of the best soloists that the world affords are invited and lend brilliancy to the events. The competition for prizes is restricted to the Männerchöre of the various cities embraced by the Sängerbund. There are several classes of contests, and as many prizes, the one esteemed most highly being the "Kaiser-

preis," consisting of an artistic silver statuette of a Minnesinger, presented by the German Emperor to the chorus which gives the best rendition of one or more songs composed and assigned for the occasion. Twice did the "Junger Männerchor" of Philadelphia win the trophy and very close did they come to permanent possession, when the "Concordia Verein" of Wilkesbarre, under the able leadership of Adolf Hansen (German), snatched away the needed third victory by giving a perfect rendition of the Kaiserlied, a feat never before accomplished in the history of the National Sängerfeste.[1] There is no possibility of favoritism on the part of the judges; they are screened from the view of the singers, and never know what club is competing. The contest proceeds with the seriousness and solemnity of the prize-singing of the mastersingers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The audience, which in our time gathers to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand in the most spacious hall[2] that the entertaining city can furnish, probably enjoys most the contest for the city prize, in which all the Männerchöre of the same locality, united to the number of two to six hundred, compete with the united singers of some of the other cities.

The influence of musical festivals, such as those held

[1] This happened at the festival held in Newark, New Jersey, July, 1906. The Concordia of Wilkesbarre scored 120 points, the highest possible; the Junger Männerchor of Philadelphia came next with 116; the Schubert Männerchor of New York scored 115; the Arion of Newark, 110. The Junger Männerchor of Philadelphia won back their laurels, at least in part, when, at the Twenty-second National Sängerfest, held in New York City, in June, 1909, they shared, with the Kreutzer Quartet Club of Manhattan, the honor of winning the Kaiser Prize.

[2] As, for instance, Madison Square Garden, in New York City, where the Sängerfest was held in June, 1909; or the Fifth Maryland Regiment Armory in Baltimore, where the Nordöstlicher Sängerbund held its triennial festival in 1903.

recently at Milwaukee in 1904, Baltimore in 1903, Philadelphia in 1906, and New York in 1909, extends beyond the German element; triennial musical pilgrimages have assumed such proportions as to impress upon large cities the festival mood (*Feststimmung*). Representative officials of the state and city where the event is to take place lend a hand at welcoming and entertaining the guests, and enjoy the musical rivalry of the performers. As early as 1850, when the first Eastern Sängerfest was held in Philadelphia, the singers were welcomed by the mayor of the city, and the speaker of the occasion called attention to the fact that, seventy-five years before, the independence of the United States had been declared at the very spot where the festival of song was to be begun. The mayor accompanied the delegates to Independence Hall, where a full chorus sang the national hymns, "Hail Columbia" and "The Star Spangled Banner," making a profound impression upon the assembled multitude. No doubt the nativistic spirit lost much of its sharp edge that day.

One of the oldest and probably the most influential of the German musical societies in the Middle West has been the Musikverein of Milwaukee, founded in 1850.[1] Hans Balatka, a German born in Bohemia, was the musical leader of the organization. The arrival of a number of cultivated men from Germany, many of them political refugees, favored the growth of the musical society. No Musikverein in the country was more industrious, vigorous, or ambitious. Most varied forms of music were performed: the male-chorus glee, the cantata, the oratorio, the opera, the overture, the symphony, and chamber music in its diverse forms. In 1851–1852 four oratorios, the

[1] Cf. *Der Musikverein von Milwaukee, 1850–1900, Eine Chronik*, herausgegeben vom Musikverein. (Milwaukee, 1900.)

"Messiah," the "Creation," "Samson," and "Elijah," were rendered. In 1853–1854 Lortzing's operas, "Zar und Zimmermann" and "Der Wildschütz," also Weber's "Freischütz," were performed. In 1855 Bellini's opera "Norma" and Beethoven's "First Symphony" were given by the society. They continued with symphonies of Schumann, Beethoven, Brahms, and Haydn, with operas such as Mozart's "Zauberflöte," Verdi's "La Traviata," and others equally, some less ambitious, and they established a standard of endeavor worthy of imitation in the West or East. Their execution may not have been uniformly of a high class, but the fact that these classical masterpieces were studied and creditably rendered by the local talent gives evidence of a far higher grade of musical cultivation than if magnificent concerts had been provided in Milwaukee with the aid of the best imported stars.

In the city of Cincinnati the German residents were also the pioneers and performers of music. In 1852 a Cincinnati paper speaks of the city's musical place as follows: "As far as we know, there is no society in the city out of the ranks of our German friends."[1] The Männerchöre of Cincinnati were vigorous and progressive, and had held a National Sängerfest in 1846. A new organization, the Cecilia Society, destined to increase the interest and appreciation of music, was largely composed of cultivated Germans, until the effort was made by them to obtain members representative not exclusively of one but of all elements of the population. Subsequently a number of other musical associations were founded, Hans Balatka and C. Barus being at various times connected with them. After these beginnings, Cincinnati soon got the reputation of a musical city, famous for her music festivals.

[1] Cf. Ritter, p. 408.

In the early days New England did not offer a favorable field for the opera, and traveling companies at the beginning of the nineteenth century avoided Boston, where music was restricted to psalm-singing and the production of oratorios. The opera elsewhere was on a low plane, except at New Orleans, where French, and later, Italian operas were artistically performed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Charleston and Baltimore entered the operatic field, and traveling companies that made circuits of the large cities came into existence. The English ballad opera was popular at that time. "The Beggar's Opera" was produced for the first time upon a New York stage, probably on December 3, 1750, and for nearly a century every English ballad-singer that visited the United States performed it. This English preceded the introduction of Italian opera in America by exactly three quarters of a century. In 1787 George Washington attended the performance of a "puppet opera" in Philadelphia, entitled "The Poor Soldier." Among the musicians in New York City at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was one, Charles Geilfert, leader of the Park Theatre. He was the son of a German music-teacher, and arranged, adapted, and composed music to several plays. For many years no musical entertainment was thought complete without his name appearing on the programme.[1] The English influence lasted throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and a German or Italian opera could make its way into America only by way of England. Thus in 1825 Weber's "Freischütz" was brought to America by an English company. The adaptations were bold; dances were interpolated; the incantation scene was frequently given without singing; fireworks were in-

[1] Ritter, p. 153.

troduced and won popular applause. During the next five years there were many repetitions of the opera in its adapted form. When Mozart's "Magic Flute" was admitted somewhat later, the difficult parts in the music were left out because there were no orchestras capable of playing them.

Then came an epoch of Italian opera, with such leaders as Trajetta, in Philadelphia; Da Ponte and Palmo, in New York City. In 1850 a troupe was brought from Havana by Señor Marty, the best heard in New York up to that time. New Orleans in the mean time had been a centre for French and Italian opera ever since the erection of the Théâtre d'Orléans in 1813, and kept the lead up to the Civil War. The Théâtre d'Orléans was remodeled in 1845, and had a seating capacity of thirteen hundred people. French artists engaged in Paris repeated the successes of the French capital before the aristocracy of the American South.[1]

In New York City the war period, strange as it may seem, brought on a great increase in operatic performances. Ullmann, Maretzek, the brothers Strakosch, and Grau, sometimes as partners and sometimes as bitter rivals, kept up Italian opera in New York City, and frequently had excel-

[1] The following newspaper clipping will afford a glimpse of the social splendor of the opera, and will reflect thé customs of the period: "In winter nearly all the rich planters of Louisiana and Mississippi brought their families to New Orleans and lived at the St. Louis and St. Charles hotels. The French Opera House was packed every evening with beautiful women resplendent with dress and diamonds and accompanied by husbands, brothers, fathers, and lovers — a gay throng with an average of two duels to every opera night. Three evenings in the week, after the opera, an immense swinging-door was let down over the parquet, and dancing was kept up until dawn. Such was the state of society at the time that it was the universal custom at the most select balls and parties to require every gentleman to be searched for concealed weapons in the dressing-room before entering the ballroom." Ritter, pp. 323–324.

lent companies. German operas were also given at times, rendered with scenic splendor, e. g., "Lohengrin," but like all the others sung in Italian. An interesting rival venture, though short-lived, was the German opera company of Carl Anschütz.[1] The latter had no stars, but his *ensemble* was good, and he drilled the chorus well, being an experienced conductor. The German operas, "The Magic Flute," "Fidelio," "Don Juan," "Zar und Zimmermann," and many others delighted an appreciative audience of real music-lovers who were not attracted by the international reputations of stars, but attended to enjoy good music. Anschütz, in the old Wallack Theatre in the year 1862, attracted an audience superior in musical intelligence and culture to the society gatherings at the Academy of Music, the stronghold of Italian opera.[2] Fitful starts in German opera had occurred as early as 1855, when there was a short season of the lighter type of German operas, and the following year, when works more ambitious were performed, with Madame Johansen in the chief rôles. The first taste of Wagner in German came in April, 1859, when Carl Bergmann, with the assistance of the Arion Society, gave a creditable performance of "Tannhäuser."

A new epoch for the opera in New York began in the season of 1878–1879, when J. H. Mapleson brought over the famous English company from Her Majesty's Theatre in London. Great singers, such as Etelka Gerster, Minna Hauk, Campanini (tenor), and others, belonged to this troupe. In 1883 a rival opera was created under Henry Abbey at the Metropolitan Opera House. Famous stars ap-

[1] Carl Anschütz was born in Germany, descended from a musical family, and through the influence of the impresario Ullmann came to New York in 1857. He was one of the pioneer orchestra leaders of the higher type, and great praise is due him.

[2] Cf. Ritter, p. 352.

peared there also, such as Nilsson, Scalchi, Sembrich, Del Puente, Kaschmann, and others. The high salaries paid the leading singers, and other enormous expenses, however, threatened to ruin the opera in New York. Abbey gave up the directorship after a single season. Thereupon Dr. Leopold Damrosch,[1] already mentioned as the reorganizer of the Arion Männerchor, conductor of the Philharmonic, organizer of the Symphony, and founder of the Oratorio Society, all of New York, suggested to the stockholders of the Metropolitan Opera House that a German opera company be tried in place of the Italian. The result was that Damrosch was intrusted with the management of German opera at the Metropolitan Opera House for the first season, 1884–1885. He succeeded in securing a good company of singers, among them Mesdames Materna, Krauss, Schroeder, Hanfstengel, Brandt, and Slach, Messieurs Schott, Robinson, Staudigl, Koegel, and Udvardi. Damrosch began the season in November, 1884, with Wagner's "Tannhäuser." Wagner's "Lohengrin," and "Walküre," Beethoven's "Fidelio," Mozart's "Don Giovanni," Meyerbeer's "Huguenots," and "The Prophet," Weber's "Freischütz," and also some Italian and French operas were rendered. With every performance the German opera gained in popularity, the most successful of all performances being the Wagner evenings. They were also the most successful financially.[2] The strain of the successful opera season proved fatal to the inspirer of the new venture. Dr. Leopold Damrosch

[1] Dr. Leopold Damrosch was born in Posen, Germany, in 1832. His parents desired him to study medicine, and in 1854 he received his medical degree from the University of Berlin. Subsequently he studied music in Berlin, and in 1856 became a member of the Court Orchestra in Weimar. There, under Liszt, he became a warm disciple of the new German school of music, the musical drama of Wagner. From 1858 he was resident in Breslau as conductor of orchestral societies. He came to New York in 1871.

[2] Cf. Ritter, p. 468. Statistics are furnished there.

contracted a severe cold after a performance of "Lohengrin" one evening in February, 1885, and died after a few days' illness. The gifted, thorough, and energetic leader was succeeded by Anton Seidl, considered by many critics the ablest conductor of German opera that ever resided in America. His enthusiastic admirers were ready to support an undertaking planned by him for a permanent operatic orchestra in New York. Anton Seidl was born in Pesth (Austria-Hungary) of German stock; was a personal friend of Wagner, and had been twice conductor at Bayreuth before coming to America. His sudden death in 1898 was a great blow to music-lovers.

The German opera was now on a secure foundation. Walter Damrosch and Emil Paur conducted the German, and Mancinelli the Italian and French operas. Under the successful management of Maurice Grau and his successor, Heinrich Conried, New York developed a grand opera such as was hardly equaled in the capitals of Europe. While the operas of Italy and France were also performed, there was under Conried's management a bias in favor of the German opera, and in the face of criticism it was proved over and over again that the greatest successes in the opera season were the Wagner nights. Such conductors as Alfred Hertz and Felix Mottl revived in some degree the enthusiasm that Anton Seidl was accustomed to inspire. The season of 1903–1904 was made famous by the production of Wagner's "Parsifal" for the first time anywhere outside the sacred temple of Bayreuth. Resentment at the boldness of the venture and doubts as to its artistic success were alike put to shame by the memorable performance of "Parsifal" on Christmas Eve of the year 1903, at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. Musical critics agreed that the high standard set at Bayreuth had

not been lowered in the New York rendition. The event was of international importance in respect to the breaking of the fetters which had held the opera bound, and epoch-making in the musical history of America because of the prestige it gave New York as a musical centre.

Since the resignation and death of the great impresario, Heinrich Conried, there has been a reaction against the preponderance of German opera in New York. The desire for change, which produces fashions in art and literature as much as in wearing apparel, has given the old rivals, Italian and French opera, a temporary advantage. Italian opera was aided by the vogue of a number of young Italian composers and by the presence of an array of wonderful singers, as Caruso, Tetrazzini, Farrar,[1] Melba, Sembrich, and others, who did not sing in German opera. Oscar Hammerstein, the builder of theatres, who was born in Germany, but does not represent German traditions, became the reviver of French opera, at the Manhattan Opera House, and with Campanini as director and the popular singer, Mary Garden, achieved great successes for French opera during the past two seasons. Yet with all this opposition German opera has more than held its own. In the last season (1908–1909), Wagner proved the greatest favorite at the Metropolitan Opera House, his operas being sung thirty-four times, while Puccini's, who came next, were sung twenty-six, and Verdi's twenty-four times. However, Italian opera was after all the most popular at the Metropolitan during the season, with seventy-three performances, as against forty-five of German, and nineteen of French

[1] Geraldine Farrar (born in Massachusetts) received her musical education in Paris and Berlin. She made her début at the Royal Opera House of Berlin in the rôle of Marguerite in *Faust*, and has been a member of the Berlin Royal Opera since 1901. She has sung in New York during the winter seasons since 1906.

operas. The excellent record for German opera was made by the director, Andreas Dippel, in spite of the fact that the great stars had been employed only for Italian opera. Dippel relied upon improved orchestral work and superior *ensemble*. A few years ago, when Jean de Reszke represented for German opera what Caruso was for Italian opera the past few seasons, Wagner nights were by far the best of all in attendance. It is an interesting fact, also, that the most popular opera at the Manhattan Opera House was "Salome," the work of the German composer, Richard Strauss, sung ten times in French. Conried had introduced the opera (in German) to an American audience for the first time, in the Metropolitan Opera House during the previous season. One of four operas presented seven times each at the Manhattan was "Les Contes d'Hoffmann," by the German-born composer, Offenbach.

Grand opera in the English language was attempted in the eighties, when a company was formed to produce opera in the English language, to be sung exclusively by Americans. The name given to it was the "National Opera Company," and the musical direction was to be under Theodore Thomas. There were some able singers in the cast, the chorus was acceptable, and the orchestra excellent, but financial success was lacking. In 1887 Thomas resigned the directorship with six months' salary owing to him, and in 1888 the company was disbanded.

A contribution to the musical history of America was made once more by the Moravians of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1903, when for the first time in this country they performed the great "B minor Mass" of Bach, under the leadership of J. Frederick Wolle.[1] On this occasion

[1] J. F. Wolle, conductor and organist, was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1863, of German descent, his father being a Moravian clergy-

the Moravian congregation gave at its Bach festival (by no means its first) the entire "Christmas Oratorio," "The Magnificat," "The Passion Music" (St. Matthew), and the "B minor Mass."

While America has not yet furnished any great musical composers, a large number of good musical compositions by the native-born element have appeared during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in this work men of German blood have been prominent. An early instance of composition by a German occurred in connection with one of the great musical displays organized by Patrick S. Gilmore. His "Peace Jubilee Chorus" of 1869 in commemoration of the victorious ending of the Civil War had been a great achievement, viewed from the popular standpoint. In 1872 he wished to repeat the success on a larger scale, such as to eclipse any musical gathering (in size) that had ever occurred on the face of the earth. Gilmore wished to procure some anthem which should preserve the remembrance of this second festival. During the period of war-songs, a few years before, Matthias Keller,[1] a German composer living in Boston, described as a kind, modest, lovable old man, who struggled along in poverty, giving music-lessons, wrote a war-song called "Save Our Republic, O Father on High." It resembled a choral rather than a battle hymn, but the slow-moving theme pleased Gilmore very well. The war-tune was now used for the celebration of peace, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, on request, wrote an ode to go with it, beginning, —

man. His musical education was received under Rheinberger in Munich. He recently accepted a call to the chair of music in the University of California and has there organized a large Bach choir.

[1] Keller died very poor soon after his fame was established by the Peace Jubilee Chorus.

"Angel of peace, thou hast wandered too long,
Spread thy white wings to the sunshine of love."

The first concert, in 1869, had had a chorus of ten thousand voices and an orchestra of one thousand instruments. The second, in 1872, doubled those figures. In the auditorium there were about forty thousand people. Famous English and German military bands contributed. Carl Zerrahn led the vocal concert numbers. Soloists of international reputation tried hard to make themselves heard in the vast hall. Firemen pounded out the rhythm of the "Anvil Chorus" on fifty anvils. "We cannot catalogue all the monstrosities of this monster festival," says Elson.[1] "It was not art; art cannot be wholesaled." The effect, however, seems to have been stimulating for the local societies from the back country, who for the first time came in touch with some better music. One of our national songs, "Maryland, my Maryland," is a plagiarism[2] of the old German folk-song, "O Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum," sung by students abroad to the words "Lauriger Horatius," and given a fiery text by J. R. Randall.

Among recent composers of German origin, there is Van der Stucken, of German descent on his mother's side, of Belgian on his father's. He was born in Texas, but his musical development took place in Germany, where he resided from 1866 to 1884. He was Kapellmeister of the Stadttheater of Breslau; Grieg and Liszt were his friends and patrons. In 1883 he gave a concert of his own compositions in Weimar, and in 1884 succeeded

[1] Cf. Elson, p. 88. Patrick S. Gilmore was born in Ireland, in 1829. As is well remembered, he was a noted leader of military bands before and after the Peace Jubilee.

[2] Cf. Elson, p. 156.

Damrosch as conductor of the Arion Männerchor in New York City. In 1892 he took this male chorus on a tour through Europe, showing Europeans something of the vocal execution of German singing-societies in the United States. In 1889 he gave a concert of American compositions at the Paris Exposition and repeated the same in several European cities. Elson says in regard to Van der Stucken's orchestral compositions: "On American soil there is only one composer who can equal the skill with which he draws highly spiced effects from the ultra-modern orchestra, Charles M. Loeffler."[1]

Charles Martin Loeffler was born in Alsatia, in 1861. He is a prominent member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, studied violin with Leonard of Paris and Joachim of Berlin. He paints the tragical in music, and an intense *Weltschmerz*. Louis Maas (born in Wiesbaden, in 1852) wrote a symphony, "On the Prairie." Otto Singer (born in Saxony, in 1833), who for years trained the choruses of the Cincinnati May festivals, composed the cantata, "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers." Some of the composers of German descent are Henry Schoenefeld, who first tried to put American melody into classical forms ("The Sunny South," "Rural Symphony"); E. R. Kroeger (father a native of Schleswig-Holstein) also tried American themes; e. g., "Hiawatha," "Thanatopsis," etc. Other German names are J. H. Beck, H. H. Huss, A. M. Foerster, all of whom have also received their musical education in Germany. Most of the American composers not of German descent, as Edward A. MacDowell, Horatio Parker, A. B. Whiting, L. A. Coerne, S. A. Pratt, F. S. Converse, and almost all others, have gone to school at Berlin or Munich, the Royal School of Music in the

[1] Elson, p. 193.

Bavarian capital being "the Mecca of American composers."[1]

An interesting figure among American composers is John Philip Sousa, born in Washington, in 1856. His mother was born in Germany, his father was a political refugee from Spain, a trombone player in the United States Marine Band. The son, a teacher at fifteen, and a conductor at seventeen, became the leader of the Marine Band at the early age of twenty-four. Sousa is most famous for his marches, as the Viennese Johann and Edmund Strauss for their waltzes. Every band in the United States plays Sousa's compelling marches; in England, and in musical Germany they have been taken up with enthusiasm. Though neither waltzes nor marches be the highest form of the musical art, undisputed kingship of either waltz- or march-music is a great achievement. "The Washington Post" was sold for thirty-five dollars. "The Liberty Bell" was born under a luckier star and netted the composer thirty-five thousand dollars,—the largest sum ever obtained for this type of music.

Among operatic composers there is Walter Damrosch, born in Breslau, the son of Dr. Leopold Damrosch. He favors American subjects, though his treatment is German. His operas, "The Scarlet Letter" and "Cyrano de Bergerac," and the "Manila Te Deum," are his chief works. It is significant also that Victor Herbert (born in Dublin, grandson of Samuel Lover, the Irish novelist), the leader of the Pittsburg Orchestra and noted composer, was sent to Germany at the age of seven to receive his musical education. For a long time he was violoncellist of

[1] A metaphor used by Elson (p. 204). Rheinberger of the Royal School of Munich was the inspiring teacher under whose influence the American composers have grown.

the Court Orchestra in Stuttgart before he came to the United States in 1886, at the age of twenty-seven. The opera "Kenilworth," by Bruno Oscar Klein (born in the Province of Hanover, in 1858), who came to the United States in 1878, was performed in Hamburg in 1895, but never in America. His shorter compositions, including about seventy-five songs, are of high rank.

In the creation and direction of musical schools the German element has also been most prominent. The Moravians had the first musical schools long before the Boston Musical Academy or the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia were founded. The great conservatories of Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, and the National Conservatory of New York at all times had Germans on their faculties and in many cases as directors. Theodore Thomas at Chicago and Van der Stucken in Cincinnati have been unsurpassed teachers of music in the West. Clara Baur, born in Stuttgart, is the directress and founder (1867) of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. William M. Semnacher, likewise born in Würtemberg, was a professor in the New York Conservatory of Music, 1866–1867, and in 1892 established the National Institute of Music (New York), of which he is still the head. Ernst Eberhard (born in Hanover, Germany) in 1874 founded the Grand Conservatory of Music (a department of the University of the State of New York), and ever since has been its president.

Carl Faelten (born in Thuringia, Germany) was for twelve years a teacher in the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. In 1897 he founded the Faelten Pianoforte School, Boston, compiled a large number of books of instruction, and has been one of the greatest piano teachers in the country. As Faelten at the piano,

Julius E. Eichberg is preëminent as a teacher of the violin. Through him the Boston Conservatory of Music came into existence and was until his death in 1898 the chief violin school in America. He was born in Düsseldorf in 1824, and came to Boston in 1859; he composed several operas, and was for a time supervisor of music in the Boston public schools.[1] Adolf Weidig (born in Hamburg, Germany), teacher and composer, is associate director of the American Conservatory of Music, Chicago. J. J. Hattstaedt (born in Michigan, in 1851, of German extraction and educated in Germany) founded the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago in 1886, and is still its president and director. Charles Heydler (born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1861, of German parentage) is the director of the Cleveland Conservatory of Music. E. R. Kroeger (born in St. Louis, in 1862) is director of the College of Music, Forest Park University for Women, St. Louis.

At many American universities chairs of music have been created, and courses of instruction in music are regularly given. The veteran professor of music of American colleges is Gustav Jacob Stoeckel (born in Germany, in 1819). He came to the United States in 1847, and two years afterward was appointed instructor of music at Yale and organist in the college chapel. From 1890 to 1896 he was the Battell Professor of Music. He became professor *emeritus* after forty-seven years of service. Another faithful laborer as a teacher was Otto Dresel (born in Germany, 1826), who lived in Boston nearly forty years, wrote a "Book of Songs," and was one of the great

[1] J. E. Eichberg has composed the inspiring patriotic anthem, "To thee, O country, great and free" (words by Anna Eichberg King), which is perhaps the best American composition in its class.

forces advancing musical taste, taking part in the movement against the "Eternal Psalmody" (Elson). Many similar laborers in the field of musical teaching have been mentioned in previous paragraphs, and the list might be extended.[1]

Among musical critics who are also educators in musical matters the German element is also well represented. The three most prominent critics in America are: H. T. Finck (born in Missouri, in 1854, of German parentage), author of the biographical and critical work, "Wagner and his Works" (1893); Dr. F. L. Ritter (born in Strassburg, in 1834), author of "Music in America," conductor and manager of the first great musical festival held in New York, in 1867, and for many years professor at Vassar; H. E. Krehbiel (born in Ann Arbor, Michigan), musical critic of the New York "Tribune" and author of "How to Listen to Music," "Studies in the Wagnerian Drama," "Music and Manners in the Classical Period," "The Philharmonic Society of New York," "Chapters of Opera, being historical and critical observations and records concerning the lyric drama in New York, from its earliest days to the present time" (1908).

One of the greatest influences toward developing a love

[1] Adolf Frey, born in Germany, professor of music, Syracuse University; W. H. Berwald (born in Mecklenburg), professor of music, Syracuse University, since 1893; A. Oldberg (born in Ohio), professor of music, Northwestern University, since 1899; Hermann Diestel, member of the Thomas Symphony Orchestra, now member of the Spiering Quartet, and on the teaching-staff of the Chicago Musical College; Leo Schulz, a great 'cellist, professor of music at Yale; Henry Ern (born in Dresden), head of violin and orchestral music, University School of Music, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Louis Falk (born in Germany), professor of organ theory, Chicago Musical College, since 1869; F. Ziegfeld (born in Oldenburg, Germany), president of Chicago Musical College since 1867; Oscar Weil (born in New York State, educated in Germany, Civil War veteran), since 1868 prominent teacher in San Francisco. A distinguished career is that of Gustav Hinrichs, born in Mecklenburg, in 1850, teacher (Nat. Cons. N. Y.), conductor, composer, and manager of his own opera company in Philadelphia for ten years.

of music is that which proceeds through the public schools. Lowell Mason, the New England composer, made the first step in this direction in Boston. Strangely enough a great hindrance encountered was the opposition of parents who were still prejudiced against musical education. In 1883 the first tentative steps were taken which subsequently resulted in success. The great pioneer of this movement in New York City was Frank Damrosch (born in Breslau, son of Dr. Leopold Damrosch), who made singing in the public schools of New York a permanent part of the curriculum. He also established choral classes among the working-people of New York City, and although such concerts may not be of the highest artistic grade, they are truly enjoyable, and bring happiness to many homes.

In closing we should give a thought to the host of German music-teachers of the humbler class from 1848 to the present time, who in every large and innumerable smaller cities have labored for little pay and less glory, yet with unflinching fidelity, at the musical education of the American people. Unless the people perform themselves, they have no true appreciation of music, and sincerely did the poet Lanier utter the sentiment that music is essential to the happiness of home life. The patient German music-master has been a most potent factor in the social evolution of our people during the last fifty years. To many of these individuals, unknown to fame, the struggle must have been a hard one, when from a high plane of musical culture existing even among the middle classes of Europe, they were cast upon a hard and frigid soil that appeared to defy all their efforts at cultivation. "It required a strong and elastic nature, both physical and mental, to resist the deteriorating effects of such outward strain upon the sensitive nerves of a person brought up amid a life of European

civilization; and in many cases only great faith and hope in the future beneficial results of a newer civilization, based upon republican institutions, afforded compensation — often illusory — to the struggling pioneer for all his sacrifices and privations."[1]

In 1838, when a small band of seven or eight musicians[2] attempted to play a portion of a Haydn Symphony in a New York theatre, "the gods" in the gallery cried, "Stop that noise; give us 'Bonyparte Crossing the Rhine,' 'Washington's March,' or 'Yankee Doodle.'" On the following night, when the performers attempted to repeat the concert, they were greeted with cat-calls and rotten eggs. A great transformation has since taken place. From "Yankee Doodle" to "Parsifal" in less than seventy years is the record of German influence on the development of musical taste in America.

B. Fine Arts: Painting

America had no art before 1776. "People ate and drank, and built and reclaimed the land and multiplied. But a large bar of iron was of more value than the finest statue, and an ell of good cloth was prized more highly than the 'Transfiguration' of Raphael."[3] The author of this stern historical estimate, the eminent professor of the history of art in the University of Breslau, nevertheless concedes that now America has an art of her own. It is not national but cosmopolitan, and shows that America in matters of art "is far more exposed to international influences than any other country." America is nearer the art centre of Europe than Russia,

[1] Ritter, pp. 417–418.

[2] This incident is taken from Ritter, p. 135.

[3] Richard M. Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, vol. iii, p. 455. Translated into English, London, 1896, three volumes.

and many of her best artists live in European capitals. Art has not yet, like music, been firmly planted on American soil, for in the province of art there are not the same opportunities in the United States of obtaining the best in schools, museums, and public places.

The influence of Germans and of Germany has been twice felt in the history of American painting. The first time, in the forties of the nineteenth century, through the Düsseldorf school, and a second time, very recently, through the Munich artists. None of the early representatives of American painting — J. S. Copley, Benjamin West, Gilbert Stuart, John Trumbull — were Germans; the foreign influence that came at that time was mainly from England. There were quite a number of faithful laborers in the early period, such as Joseph Eckstein (1801), described as "a thorough-going drudge in the arts, that could do a picture in still life — history — landscape — portrait — he could model — cut a head in marble — or anything you please."[1] Such lives remind one of the plight of the musician Heinrich, composer of the volume of songs entitled "Dawning of Music in Kentucky," which could not rescue him from a debtor's prison.[2] Jacob Eichholtz, of German extraction (born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1776), was a disciple of Stuart as a portrait-painter, and might have ripened to excellence under more favorable circumstances. "Street Scenes, Central Square, Philadelphia," "Election at the State House," were painted by the

[1] Eckstein was a German. Cf. William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Art of Design in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 288.

[2] This quaint volume, containing musical scores of a number of songs composed by Heinrich, is found in the Library of Congress, Washington. The date is 1820. Friends in Philadelphia wrote the words to his songs, which he seems to have composed there or in Kentucky.

German artist, J. L. Krimmel, who came to this country in 1810, and was accidentally drowned near Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1821.[1]

In the forties the popularity of the Romantic School drew the American painters to Düsseldorf, where a new art of landscape painting had sprung up under the leadership of the artist, Karl Friedrich Lessing. The American painters felt the need of greater accuracy in drawing, and more technique. In 1848 Paul Weber, a representative of the school, established himself in Philadelphia, and became one of the most fashionable painters of the day.[2] But the pioneer of greatest influence in this movement was Emmanuel Leutze. He was born at Gmünd, Würtemberg, in 1816, but he spent his early life in America. Evidences of talent in the boy interested Mr. E. L. Carey, of Philadelphia, with whose assistance and some money that he had earned by painting pictures, as "Indian Gazing at the Setting Sun," Leutze was enabled to go abroad to study. He became the pupil of Lessing, at Düsseldorf, and soon painted the historical picture, "Columbus before the High Council of Salamanca." "Columbus in Chains" brought him a gold medal at Brussels. His best-known picture in America is perhaps "Washington Crossing the Delaware," painted in 1851, and now in possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Muther calls it a sincere and loyal historical picture, which in its quiet matter-of-fact composition rather resembles an earnest artist like Copley than Lessing, with his sentimentalism and exaggeration.[3] Equally famous in

[1] Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, in two volumes, vol. i, p. 253. (Page & Co., Boston, 1902.)

[2] Hartmann, vol. i, p. 63.

[3] Muther, vol. iii, p. 458.

America is his "Emigration to the West" (or "Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way"), completed in 1862, the large picture forming one of the panels of the staircase at the Capitol at Washington. His last work was a cartoon, "Emancipation of the Slaves." He died in Washington in 1868, overcome by the heat of summer. Leutze was a hard worker, and aspired to high ideals. He has been severely criticized, particularly in America, where he has never been appreciated as fully as abroad. Most of his pictures are not to be seen in this country, and therefore American critics rarely had a chance to view his work in its entireness; but his was the most prominent effort in historical painting in America up to that time.[1] His shortcomings were those incident to rapid work and the weaknesses of his school, crude coloring and a fixed academical style of drawing. The Düsseldorfers welcomed him with enthusiasm whenever he appeared among them, and he came near to being called at one time to the directorship of the Düsseldorf Academy.[2] In the history of American painting he is also noteworthy for having been one of the few American artists who selected American subjects for their works. The only other prominent example was Trumbull.

As Leutze had represented historical painting, so another German-American, Albert Bierstadt, introduced the Düsseldorfian manner of landscape painting. Born in Solingen, near Düsseldorf, his parents took him to America when he was only two years old. He was to become a merchant, but

[1] Cf. Hartmann, p. 142.

[2] For an appreciative essay on Leutze, cf. H. Becker, *Kölner Zeitung*; article reprinted in no. 34, Dioskuren, 1868. Cf. also Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*. A very unsympathetic review appeared in the New York *Tribune*, February 2, 1867.

his love for art prevailed, and in 1853 he returned to his native land for an education. He studied under Lessing, Achenbach, and Leutze at Düsseldorf, remaining abroad four years. On his journeys to Switzerland and elsewhere he had acquired the habit of making sketches of mountain landscapes, which stood him in good stead when presently a great opportunity came his way. Immediately after his return he made two long trips to the Far West, taking part in General Lander's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1858. The wild regions that he saw gave him the materials and the inspiration for his pictures. He was a worshiper of the grand in nature, like the German-American novelist, Charles Sealsfield, in literature.[1] Bierstadt's pictures "united geographical accuracy with the effort to compass dazzling meteorological effects" (Muther). Primeval nature was his subject, temple-like solitudes, only occasionally enlivened by trappers, cowboys, Indians mounted, or buffaloes, by their diminutive presence impressing all the more the sublimity of the wonder-works of nature. Some of his most famous pictures, which he painted on canvases of great dimensions, are "Lander's Peak," "Storm in the Rockies," "Domes of the Yosemite," "The Yosemite Valley," "Laramie Peak," "Mt. Hood." One of his last pictures, "In the Sierras," won a gold medal at the exhibition of the Berlin Academy in 1868. Bierstadt does not produce in his landscapes the expression of a human mood or feeling, not even in his "Emerald Pool in the White Mountains." The grand and heroic in nature are designed to create an overpowering impression upon the human soul. His pictures were very popular for a time, especially in Europe, where their subjects were romantically new, and

[1] Cf. Sealsfield's description of the San Jacinto Prairie, in the *Cabin Book*, or his romantic depictions of Mexican scenery (*Süden und Norden*).

the depiction seemed accurate.[1] Bierstadt had followers among American painters, such as J. B. Bristol and F. E. Church, who painted American and Mexican scenery. Many were the young men who, following the example of Leutze[2] and Bierstadt, went to school at Düsseldorf, and for twenty years or more the influence of Düsseldorf artists was evident in American historical and landscape painting.

A new era came about 1860, when the fame of the Barbizon[3] school began to attract American artists. Soon thereafter the glory of the Rocky Mountain school departed. The influence of the French school is traceable in most of the modern American landscape painters, a number of whom have German names. Among them are the genre painters, Henry Mosler (born in New York; studied at Düsseldorf and Paris), and Carl Gutherz (Swiss by birth), the latter a pupil of Bouguereau.

Within very recent times, however, the influence of

[1] Bierstadt died in 1902. An appreciative review of his work can be found in an article by S. R. Köhler, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.* (Leipzig, 1870.) Cf. also *Atlantic Monthly*, vols. xiii and xiv, articles by Fitz-Hugh Ludlow. The hardships of Western travel are commented on, such as Bierstadt endured in order to attain his ends.

[2] A prominent pupil of Leutze was Karl Ferdinand Weimer (Wimer), born in Germany in 1828, who came to this country in 1844. He made it his purpose in life to portray the North American Indian, and traveled extensively to carry out his aim, living among the Sioux, taking pictures of them, and closely observing them in peace and war, on the hunt and at their pastimes. Weimer's *Buffalo Hunt* (in the Art Museum of St. Louis), and numerous canvases portraying wild life in the West, are the pioneers in this popular type of American painting. Weimer's studies of Indian costumes, utensils, weapons, details of daily life, also his big-game pictures, were of great service to succeeding painters. Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xiii, pp. 130 ff., and *American Art Review*, vol. ii, pp. 176–177.

[3] This French school was also known as the Fontainebleau school of landscape painters. They resided near the forest of Fontainebleau, the most beautiful in France, in Barbizon, Chailly, and other near-by villages. This modern school was founded by Theodore Rousseau; prominent members were Corot, Dupré, Daubigny, François Millet, Fleury, and others.

Paris has been counterbalanced somewhat by a second German influence, that of Munich. Piloty had urged the study of nature and insisted on correct draughtsmanship. In Germany, Düsseldorf as a school for artists was dethroned and Munich set in its place. Talented young people came from all parts of the world to learn what the renaissance of German art had in store. Ludwig Löfftz raised the reputation of Munich and perfected the realism and technique of the school. A number of artists of the first rank, such as Makart, Max, Lenbach, Defregger, Dietz, made the fame of Munich resound over the whole world. In the eighties and early nineties, the Bavarian capital was as much the Mecca of American art students as was Paris, although not so many made Munich their permanent home.[1] Among the latter, of German descent, were Rosenthal, Marr, and Ulrich. T. Rosenthal remained true to the old romantic ideas, and would not represent life in unpleasant realistic coloring.

For two reasons the most interesting of the three is Carl Marr, born in Milwaukee, in 1858, first because of his work, and secondly because of his teaching. He has become a professor at the Munich Academy, and now represents the influence both of Germany and, since he was born in the United States, of the native German element on American painting. "He is a worker, a born professor, whose talent is made up of the elements of will, work, study, and patience" (Muther). His productive work is of perfect draughtsmanship and shows true naturalism, free from extravagances. In 1889 he introduced himself by the "Procession of Flagellants," a serious historical picture of great size, exhibiting great mastery over technical difficulties. His next pictures were "Germany in

[1] Cf. Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 198.

1866," and the genre picture "Summer Day." Marr's pictures have the capacity of satisfying every one. They tell a story pleasing to the uncritical, and owing to the soundness of their technique they never offend the most exacting.[1]

Charles F. Ulrich (born in New York, in 1858), a pupil of Löfftz and Lindenschmidt, takes Italy for his subject. He paints Venice, not that of romance, but the Venice of the present day, with its narrow streets and comely girls, laundresses, and women making bouquets and laughing at their work. "There is a mild lustre of color in his work and a distinctive sobriety in tone, in contradistinction from the pyrotechnics of the Italian Fortuny" (Muther). His "Glass-Blowers" (at the Metropolitan Museum) is a study of the laboring-class, and his "Promised Land" represents European immigrants arriving at Castle Garden. Robert Koehler (born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1850) is a painter of Munich street life; Hermann Hartwich (born in New York, in 1853) chooses subjects chiefly from South Tyrol and the north of Italy; Robert Blum has painted Japanese street scenes, full of sunlight and lustrous color; — "his Venetian and Japanese pictures fairly sparkle with crisp and delicate effects" (Hartmann). Robert W. Vonnoh is a member of the Munich secession. His painted portraits and landscapes, consisting entirely of dots of pure bright color, illustrate the theory that the first visual impression we receive consists of a chaos of color dots. In the exhibition at Munich of 1892, he exhibited a field of poppies in which the red color had been daubed on the canvas not by the brush but out of the tube.

[1] Carl Marr's "Star of Life" is found in the Metropolitan Museum. It represents the body of a young girl thrown ashore, while the figure of an old man, denoting Time, is seen among the rocks, meditating.

"Never yet," says Muther, "was war so boldly declared on all the conventional usages of the studio; never yet were such barbaric means employed to attain an astounding effect of light." Among American artists residing in London, where Whistler and Sargent reign supreme, there is Muhrmann, trained in Munich, who has lately come to the front in the exhibitions.

Other German names among modern American painters are Louis Moeller, who portrays unique types of old men and genre scenes; J. M. Gaugengigl,[1] master in painting details; Louis Kronberg, depicter of ballet-girls; Max Weyl (born in Germany), landscape artist; Joseph Lauber (born in Westphalia, Germany), mural painter, member of the advisory committee of color scheme at the Pan-American Exposition, interested in the artistic improvement of cities; J. J. Behr, miniature painter; R. F. Zogbaum, delineator of military and naval subjects.[2] Other German names of men of talent are A. L. Groll, C. H. Fromuth, Charles Schreyvogel, W. E. Schumacher, A. H. Maurer, etc.[3] It is interesting to note the large number of German names among the medal winners at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. There are German names in each class; i. e., of gold, silver, and bronze medal awards in the departments of painting, sculpture, etchings, engravings, etc. The German names under silver and bronze medals can be counted by scores, showing

[1] Hartmann, vol. i, pp. 283–284, calls him the Meissonier of America. A good example of his work is found in the Boston Art Museum, a cavalryman shot dead from ambush.

[2] Among battle painters there have been Rothermel, a German artist who painted gigantic canvases like the "Battle of Gettysburg," which was one of the attractions of the Centennial Fair at Philadelphia in 1876. Another German name among battle painters is Gilbert Gaul, born in Jersey City in 1855. Cf. Hartmann, vol. i, p. 251.

[3] Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 252.

that a very large share of the artistic work of our country is being done by men of German blood.

In 1878 the criticism appeared in "Harper's Magazine" that "the great defect of American artists is ignorance of the elements of the science and technique of the profession. They did not learn early enough how to draw; they have not clear ideas of what art is and what art demands." Now, after less than twenty years, the art critic Muther says, "American pictures are eminent for their technique." There has been a strenuous discipline in correct drawing and an effort to probe every subject as artistically as possible. "Technique being the basis of every art, the groundwork for the growth of an especially American school has thus been created." For the attainment of this technique Düsseldorf, Paris, and Munich have been the training-schools. "With their fine instinct for novelty, their presage of the tendency of the future, the Americans are well able to estimate the value of European schools of art. For this reason they seek neither Berlin nor Düsseldorf amongst German centres of art, but only Munich, nor did they come even here until Munich had decisively joined in the great modern movement."[1]

In the art schools that have been established in the United States there is likewise a strong representation of the German element on the various teaching-staffs. Frederick Dielman (born in Hanover, in 1847) has been president of the New York Academy of Design since 1899. He studied art in Munich under Diez; and was topographer and draughtsman in the United States Engineer Department, 1866–1872. He designed the mosaic panels "Law" and "History" in the new Congressional Library, and

[1] Muther, vol. iii, p. 478.

some other mosaics. He was president of the National Academy of Design, 1899–1902, and has been professor of descriptive geometry and drawing in the College of the City of New York since 1903. Robert Koehler (born in Hamburg in 1850) is the director of the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts and the president of the Minnesota State Art Society. John Henry Niemeyer (born in Bremen, Germany, in 1839) has been professor of drawing in the Yale School of Fine Arts since 1871. Charles M. Kurtz (born at New Castle, Pennsylvania, in 1855) is art director in the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. Edmund H. Osthaus (born in Hildesheim, Germany, in 1858) was the principal of the Toledo Academy of Fine Arts until it was abandoned. Benjamin W. Clinedinst (born in Woodstock, Virginia, in 1860) is the director of the School of Illustration, Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, also of the School of Applied Design for Women, in New York.

A typical example of a German teacher of wide experience and influence is that of Professor Otto Fuchs, at his death in 1906 director of the Maryland Institute in Baltimore. He was a native of Prussia, and came to America in 1840, at the age of twelve. He studied civil engineering, was employed in the Cooper Institute, New York, as a teacher of machine designing, then as draughtsman in the United States Coast Survey, and at the outbreak of the Civil War he drew plans for battleships. According to Ericsson's directions he executed the plans for the first *Monitor*. Leaving a professorship in the Naval Academy, he accepted a responsible position in a Boston machine-building company (Harrison-Loring). When the State Normal Art School was founded in Boston, he was first appointed head of the technical section and subsequently director of the entire institution. His spirit of independ-

ence, particularly in regard to political appointments, created friction, and although Professor Fuchs was victorious in the struggle, he was wearied by it and willing to accept a call in 1883 to the directorship of the Maryland Institute in Baltimore, where unrestricted freedom was admitted from the start in regard to appointments and control of the curriculum. The school was the same in which the sculptor Rinehart had received his first instruction. It had about two hundred and fifty pupils when Professor Fuchs took hold of it; in his charge the number grew to fourteen hundred. Many of his pupils won gold or silver medals in Paris in the annual competitions.[1] When Baltimore was burned in 1904 the Maryland Institute art rooms and all the models that had accumulated for years were totally destroyed. Otto Fuchs was not disheartened but rose equal to the occasion, and started at once to gather subscriptions for a new building with greater facilities and a larger endowment. In carrying out this great purpose he undermined his constitution, but the certainty of success comforted him upon his death-bed. The unusual honor of memorial resolutions by the General Assembly of Maryland[2] was conferred upon the deceased public servant.

The intellectual exchange of professors between Germany and America has undoubtedly suggested the plan of an exchange in the province of art. In January, 1909, there was opened in the new wing of the Metropolitan Museum of New York City an exhibition of the works of modern German painters under the auspices of the Ger-

[1] For example, Hans Schuler (of German parentage), sculptor in Baltimore, whose "Adam and Eve" and "Ariadne" are works showing marked talent and promise.

[2] Cf. *German-American Annals*, New Series, vol. iv, pp. 158–160.

man Government. The artistic direction was in charge of Wilhelm Bode, director-general of the Royal Museum of Berlin; Arthur Kampf, president of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin; and Carl Marr, professor of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. On this side the exhibition owed a great deal to the untiring efforts of the art connoisseur, Hugo Reisinger. His Majesty the German Emperor sent his portrait by Kampf and a number of famous modern paintings by Lenbach, Böcklin, Menzel, and others, loaned from the Royal Art Galleries of Berlin, an example which was followed by the museums of Munich, Dresden, Weimar, Karlsruhe, and others. The collection undoubtedly served its purpose of a better acquaintance with modern German art, and made a strong impression, though far removed from commonplace approval. It was discovered that the German artists did not belong to any one school, but were individuals striving to express their individual genius, men of wonderful force, directness, and sincerity, frequently incurring the danger of crudity through their vigor, and of marring the line of beauty through their bold simplicity or their lofty aspiration. The exhibition is to visit other American cities, and some time in the future an exhibition of American art is to take place in Berlin.

An influence of a more permanent kind will undoubtedly result from the establishment of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University in 1903. The beginnings of a great collection were made by the generous gifts of the German Emperor, which included casts of German sculptures of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to be found in no other museum in the world. Galvanoplastic reproductions of German metal-work from the twelfth to the eighteenth century were added later by German friends, and gifts came

from the King of Saxony and the town council of Nuremberg, illustrating Saxon art of the thirteenth century and the workmanship of the Nuremberg sculptor, Adam Krafft. The collection promises to become one of the most complete and valuable in the world, and a constant source of interest alike to laymen and artists.[1]

C. Sculpture

If the beginnings of music and painting in the United States were difficult, the case for sculpture seemed well-nigh hopeless. The Puritan and Quaker horror of the flesh and a peculiar unfathomable prudishness that held sway all over the country,[2] compelled whatever talent there was in the land to seek refuge in fair Italy. From the very persecutors of the art, however, sprang its first great votaries, Hiram Powers (1805–1873), a Quaker, and Horatio Greenough (1805–1852), whose mother was born in New England.

There were undoubtedly some Germans laboring at the art in the early period, for when Powers went to Cincinnati in 1826 he frequently visited the studio of a German artist,[3] and there discovered in himself those talents which culminated in the production of the "Greek Slave." There is a record of a German by the name of Korwan, "who executed several monuments which show conscientious labor and good taste."[4] The more than gifted Francis Dengler (born in Cincinnati) was of German descent. He died

[1] Thanks to the untiring efforts of the founder and curator of the museum, Professor Kuno Francke, and the generous beginning of a fund by Adolphus Busch ($150,000), the institution may look forward to occupying, in time, a permanent home. Three hundred thousand dollars will be necessary for this purpose. Cf. Chapter v, p. 236, note 2.

[2] Cf. Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, vol. ii, pp. 85–87, and vol. i, pp. 220–221.

[3] Cf. Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, vol. ii, p. 19.

[4] Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 18.

in Boston, in 1879, at the age of twenty-six, after a short, productive, and useful career as teacher at the Boston Museum School. His group, entitled "Caught," representing children at play, is a successful study of sculptural grouping.

The sculptor, William H. Rinehart, born in 1825, was the son of a German farmer (Reinhardt) of Carroll County, Maryland.[1] The opening of a quarry in the neighborhood made of the boy a stonecutter instead of a farmer. Removing to Baltimore, he plied his trade ten to twelve hours a day and afterward worked in the night school of the Maryland Institute. In 1855, with the aid of the art connoisseur, W. S. Walters, Rinehart was enabled to go to Italy, and he there executed his two bas-reliefs "Night" and "Day." He soon returned to Baltimore, and opened a studio, but the memories of the Eternal City proved too great an attraction. In 1858 he returned to Rome, and remained there until his death in 1874. Rinehart's work may best be studied in Baltimore. In the art gallery of the Peabody Institute three of his marbles and about forty-two plaster casts of his most important works have been brought together. In Washington Place near the Peabody stands the impressive bronze statue of Chief Justice Taney, seated in a chair. Some of Rinehart's work is to be seen in the Greenmount Cemetery of Baltimore (e. g., "Sleeping Children"). The gem of Rinehart's work is a life-sized nude marble, "Clytie," in the Peabody, a beautiful example of the classical style. "Latona and her Children," a marble group which rivals the other in excellence, is found in the Metropolitan Museum. The Corcoran Art Gallery possesses several of the sculptor's works, among them "Endymion."

[1] Carroll County is within the area of old Frederick County, the stronghold of the German farmers, who mostly trekked from Pennsylvania.

Rinehart was among the last of the American sculptors who remained under the influence of the classicism so beautifully revived in Italy by Canova. William Rinehart at his death left his estate to be used for the foundation of a traveling scholarship. The sculptor knew what Rome had been for him, he remembered also how poverty had stood in his way, and wished therefore to help some young men of tried talent situated as he had been. The Roman Rinehart Scholarship, awarded upon work submitted in competition, has fulfilled the donor's wishes, for it has been of real service to a number of promising American sculptors, the most noted case being that of the brilliant American sculptor, Herman Atkins MacNeal, who won the honor of the award, 1896–1900.

A diligent search would undoubtedly reveal the presence of other Germans at work during the early periods, but the present purpose is not to exhaust the materials, but to search for larger influences. A great impulse to sculpture in recent times has been given by the decorative work of the last three great American expositions. It is true that a large part of the work produced has been merely architectural or decorative, but the popularizing of pleasing forms, though ephemeral as compared with the immortal marbles of masters, has brought about a kind of renaissance in the plastic art. This new era, which has borne many artists to the front by giving them something to do, and which has forced the public to become interested, was produced mainly by two men of German birth, Karl Theodor F. Bitter, born in Vienna in 1867, and Frederick W. Ruckstuhl, born at Breitenbach, in Alsace, within the borders of Germany in 1853.

Karl Bitter was the most conspicuous decorator of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and the official

director of sculpture at the two succeeding expositions, the Pan-American in 1901, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. He received a good education in his native city, with Latin and Greek at the Gymnasium and sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1889 he arrived in New York City, possessed of no other resources save his technical education. With neither friends nor relatives to aid him he began work with a firm of house decorators. The story is told that his fellow workmen jeered at him when he used his spare time to fashion a model in competition for one of the gates of Trinity Church in New York. The foreigner won the award, and soon also the esteem of Richard M. Hunt, the architect. Then came Bitter's great opportunity. Mr. Hunt created the stately Administration Building for the World's Fair in Chicago, and invited the young man to design the elaborate sculptural decorations that were to embellish it. Bitter was fully equal to the task, and added to his great undertaking the decoration of the Liberal Arts Building at the earnest request of its designer, G. B. Post.[1] "To most of us," says the critic Taft, "those great lawless compositions on the Administration Building were curious rather than beautiful, though all recognized the fertility of invention and the audaciousness of the foreigner, who threatened to overwhelm the structure with his lightly conceived giants of plaster. With all our natural resourcefulness, there were but two or at most three native Americans who could have 'swung' such work with the easy mastery, the professional *bravura*, that Mr. Bitter showed in nearly every sketch and to a certain extent in the final groups, those enormous constructions of timber and staff. If it seems too purely a

[1] Cf. Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture*, pp. 456–463. (The Macmillan Company, 1903.)

product of intuition and dexterity to merit serious study, it becomes, in mass, of the highest importance as a quiet, persistent influence toward the elevation of the standard of American workmanship, and of no less importance in the cultivation of American taste through familiarity with admirable examples." Figures and figure reliefs for "Biltmore" and other residences of the Vanderbilts, for the homes of C. P. Huntington, John Jacob Astor, and many others belong to the works of Bitter. The enormous reliefs for the Broad Street Station in Philadelphia, for innumerable public buildings, churches, etc., came from the workshop of Karl Bitter, who is able to design for a whole shopful of assistants and direct the execution of many things at once. "The sculptural result may not be profound — but it is a gift indeed to be able to create spontaneously, unwearyingly, these beautiful things. We should feel grateful to Mr. Bitter for every one of those delightful mantelpieces and friezes, for all the spandrels and cartouches, for the whole army of graceful stone men and women, be they caryatides, evangelists, or bacchantes."[1] Teutonic exuberance touched with the gayety of the Viennese is the characteristic of this artist.

Karl Bitter's administration during the Pan-American Exposition was an artistic and financial success. The total amount expended, nearly a quarter of a million dollars, kept thirty-five American artists and over one hundred assistants busy for over a year. It enriched the "City of Light" with effective statuary admirably suited to its purpose. "His personal contribution, the enormous standard-bearers, were among the finest things ever devised for an exposition. He stood his horses almost on end; they fairly sat on their haunches and threw out their feet for balance.

[1] Taft, p. 459.

Like the fluttering banner above them, their exuberance filled the spectator with elation. They gave the note of joy to which the whole gala scene was attuned."[1] Karl Bitter was one of the leading spirits in the building of the arch for the Dewey reception in New York City. But his work at times is also of a deeper and more lasting nature, as, for instance, in the Villard Memorial, the panels of choir-singers over the entrance of Cornelius Vanderbilt's Fifth Avenue residence, and above all, the bust of Dr. Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl has done notable service as the organizer and in some sense the leading spirit of the National Sculpture Society, of which he was for several years the secretary.[2] He consecrated his great energy and executive ability to this fraternity, which, by 1899, organized five important exhibitions, and brought sculptors together for coöperative efforts. The sculptural decoration of the Appellate Court Building in New York City is a monument to Mr. Ruckstuhl's disinterested efforts. This work of many hands, though at times crude, nevertheless brings before the public the suggestion of art. The development of taste for the art of sculpture is a matter of growth and prolonged heroic effort. As it was with music, so a better day may come for the other forms of art. Mr. Ruckstuhl's sacrifice for the cause is a very great one, for he loses the opportunity of exercising his extraordinary talents in productive work. Of these his marble figure "Evening" in the Metropolitan Museum gives evidence. It was modeled in Paris and won him a medal at the Columbian Exposition. "It is a poetic con-

[1] Taft, pp. 459–460.

[2] Taft, p. 424. Karl Bitter was also a leading member of this society, and for some time a member of its board of directors.

ception, very simply expressed, in a pose of unusual grace, and reveals a close study of nature." [1] Other works of his are "Mercury teasing the Eagles of Jupiter," in St. Louis; "Solon," in the Congressional Library; the two seated marble figures, "Wisdom" and "Force," guarding the entrance of the Appellate Court, New York; the spirited equestrian statue of General Hartranft, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Among architectural sculptors there is Philip Martiny, born in Alsace, in 1858, within the present boundary of Germany. "He has made whole regiments of long-thighed females, classically draped, apparently all sisters, as they only vary in the turn of their heads, the pose of their legs, and the attribute they carry in their arms." [2] Martiny spent his boyhood in France, and is a pupil of Saint-Gaudens. He is perhaps not properly classified as belonging to the German element. M. M. Schwarzott and Max Bachman also belong to the group of architectural sculptors. Karl Bitter has a number of followers, as Gustave Gerlach, sculptor of the personification, "Minnesota"; Bruno L. Zimm, sculptor of "North Dakota"; others of German name that availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by the director of sculpture at the expositions were Adolph Weinmann (pupil of Saint-Gaudens and Niehaus), sculptor of "Kansas"; and Carl Heber, of "Indian Territory."

Another opportunity for American sculptors has come through the demand for monuments and statues. One of the great representatives of this art is Charles Henry Niehaus, born in Cincinnati, in 1855, of German parents, and educated at the Royal Academy of Munich. His first was one of his greatest monuments, viz., the

[1] Taft, p. 426. [2] Hartmann, p. 77.

statue of James A. Garfield, located in Cincinnati. "His conception of the man was adequate. The figure has dignity, distinction, and personality. It is one of the first oratorical statues which do not antagonize at first sight. An uplifted arm is generally a danger-signal — warning of an impatient and unexpressive work; but this silent speaker is eloquent. We do not resent his gesture, as we do that of Story's 'Edward Everett' in Boston. The treatment is firm, the drawing admirable, and to these fundamental qualities the sculptor has added a delightful play of textures."[1] Another great work of Niehaus is the statue of Hahnemann, the founder of homœopathy. It is one of the most effective monuments in the city of Washington. Another beautiful statue is called "The Driller," a nude masculine figure driving a drill into the ground. It is the leading figure on the monument of Colonel Edwin L. Drake, who sank the first oil-well in Pennsylvania in 1859. "Moses" and "Gibbon" were the two contributions of Niehaus to the Congressional Library. Numerous are his portrait statues scattered over many parts of the United States, such as those of William Allen, Lincoln, Girard, etc. Niehaus was one of the gold-medal winners in sculpture at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Frederick E. Triebel (born at Peoria, Illinois, in 1865), of German parentage, made his début at the Columbian Exposition with a number of marbles that he had brought with him from Florence. The best-known among them is his ideal composition, "Love knows no caste." Since then his unquestioned talent has been exhibited in the spirited groups on the soldiers' monument in his native city. Albert E. Harnisch, a Philadelphian of German parentage,

[1] Cf. Taft, p. 394.

likewise brought back from Italy a number of his works, — "Love in idleness," "Boy robbing an eagle's nest," "The little protector," — showing much talent. A creator of statues of American soldiers is the German, Rudolph Schwarz, located at Indianapolis. His work is to be seen on the Indiana State Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument.[1] In 1902 he won the award in the competition for a statue of Governor Pingree of Michigan for the city of Detroit. Frank Happersburger occupies a distinguished place among sculptors of the Pacific Coast. Most noteworthy is his work on the Lick Monument, on which he has pictured various scenes of Western activity, as well as a portion of the animal life of California.[2] A pioneer in the West was Leonard Volk[3] (born at Wellstown, New York, in 1828). He settled down in Chicago in 1857, opened a studio, and later assisted in the founding of the Academy of Design. Among his important works are the Douglas Monument in Chicago, a bust of President Lincoln, statuary on the Soldiers' Monument, Erie County, New York, etc. In Hartford, Connecticut, Carl Conrads, a German who came with good training, has identified himself with sculpture in granite, and "has done much creditable work well adapted to the requirements of that ungrateful material." Carl Gerhart produced many bronze figures, of which his "Nathan Hale," in the Connecticut State House, is worthy of mention.[4]

A sculptor whom critics unanimously declare worthy of wider fame is the German, Henry Linder, of New York.

[1] This magnificent monument was designed by the German sculptor, Bruno Schmitz, of Berlin, in 1893. Cf., for an appreciative comment, Fulda, *Amerikanische Eindrücke*, p. 50.

[2] Taft, p. 536.

[3] His parents lived in Massachusetts, but his name is distinctly German.

[4] Cf. Taft, p. 502.

He is not ashamed to be an artist-artisan. Whatever he makes, from andirons to sweet-faced madonnas, receives the stamp of "his intensely personal point of view." His fancy busts reflect the spirit of the German romanticism of Brentano, Tieck, and Fouqué. "I have seen andirons, candlesticks, electric-light fonts, ink-wells, and other useful domestic articles made by him, that were greater works of art than most of the statues looming up so hideously in our parks and public places. Men who render the environment in which we live and the articles which we daily handle more artistic, do more for American art than those who clamor persistently for 'high art.' I am sorry that this sculptor is so little appreciated; his name should be known all over from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast."[1]

On the roll of the National Sculpture Society there are a large number of names of "foreign flavor." Among these a few of the German names are Theodor Bauer, Caspar Buberl, D. A. Gudebrod, C. F. Hamann, A. Jaegers, F. R. Kaldenberg, P. H. Lachenmeyer, O. Lenz, H. Matzen, Max Mauch, Kasper Mayer, M. Schwarzott, A. Weinert, and E. Wuertz. These and the more prominent names and influences recorded in previous paragraphs show that the German element is contributing very largely toward popularizing and developing a taste for sculpture in this country.

D. Architecture

The history of American architecture has never been written, but the inference should not be drawn that there is nothing to say. Even Europeans are beginning to trace the evidences of independence and novelty in certain of our architectural forms. The most obvious case is that

[1] Hartmann, vol. ii, pp. 81–82.

of the revival of the Romanesque by H. H. Richardson.[1] The beauty in crude strength, the virility in massiveness, delighting in solid towers, thick walls, and rough exteriors, is a genuine expression of the uncurbed masculine vigor of the American nation. Again, the energy of the American people finds a fitting emblem in the tall office-building, rising higher than ever Gothic cathedral, scraping the skies, and sheltering within its confines a busy population of thousands. The European shakes his head in wonder when he sees the walls constructed downward from the top instead of rising from the bottom, but the sky-scraper rests securely upon its inner steel frame,[2] and has defied storms, fires, and earthquakes. It has solved the problem of congestion in the business sections of large cities and proved itself a good financial investment. A third characteristic of the American is expressed in his building of homes. A lover of home life, he gives himself a porch to be out of doors and he builds an interior most convenient for the housekeeper, who is fond of social intercourse and is frequently forced to be without servants. The house is therefore more open than the European, rooms communicate, and the kitchen is close to the dining-room. All these features affect the appearance and construction of the home, and have evolved a new type of American cottage. In all of these three new departures the German element has not appeared in the rôle of original inventor,

[1] Henry Hobson Richardson was born at New Orleans in 1838, and died in Boston in 1886.

[2] The skeleton construction was invented by William Le Baron Jenney, born in Massachusetts in 1832. He first used it in New York in the Home Insurance Building in 1884, then extensively in Chicago, the problem arising there of building heavy structures on soft clay soil, necessitating the construction of deep foundations and resting the entire weight of the building upon a few points. The Bessemer Steamship Company named one of its vessels the W. L. B. Jenney, in honor of the invention of 1883.

but as an able co-worker, contributing also new ideas and inventions.

Richardson had many followers, and among them men of German blood. William H. Miller, descended from Mohawk settlers who emigrated from Germany before the Revolution, designed the most beautiful building on the Cornell University campus, the law building, called Boardman Hall, with all the graceful massiveness of the Romanesque revival. His construction of the library tower and the Cornell University Library were also done under Richardson's influence.[1] Similarly, Charles F. Schweinfurth (born in Auburn, New York, in 1856) designed many collegiate and church structures, a masterpiece being the Trinity Church in Cleveland.

Early architects trained under William L. B. Jenney include the German names of Martin Roche and L. E. Ritter. An application of the steel structure to hotel building was made by Henry J. Hardenbergh (born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1847), the architect of New York hotels, including the Waldorf-Astoria, the Manhattan, and the Plaza, which have made an epoch in hotel architecture.

The evolution of the American steel building is a part of an independent movement in American architecture against the traditions of the past. Perhaps the artistic leader of the revolt is Louis Henry Sullivan (born in Boston, in 1856, of Irish descent). A "Chicago School"[2]

[1] The most elaborate and impressive edifice on the Cornell campus until it was destroyed by fire was the palatial Fiske-McGraw mansion, also designed by Mr. W. H. Miller. Stimson Hall, the medical building, a fitting companion-piece to Boardman Hall, though different in style, was designed by the same architect. He has made the plans of a very large number of town and country residences, spread over sixteen states.

[2] Cf. *The Architectural Review*, vol. xv, pp. 69 ff. T. E. Tallmadge, *The Chicago School.*

has arisen, whose motto is "form follows function." The purpose for which the building is to be used and the practical requirements necessary to satisfy the owner are the first consideration of the architect; the form of the building is a second consideration. They declare that without going beyond their country and clients for inspiration it is possible to construct a good and seemly building without violating the canons of architecture and good taste. The firm of Sullivan and Adler[1] designed the Schiller Building of Chicago, the Auditorium Hotel, and numerous others. A prominent architect of this school is the German, Richard E. Schmidt, who has worked out a motif theory of architectural design.[2] Most of the members of the Chicago school are Americans, who would probably deny any influence of the contemporary secession movement in Germany or the *Art Nouveau* in France. Yet the movements are very similar, and in Germany and Austria more earnest and unanimous than anywhere else in the world. The flood of German publications, made very accessible by the New York importing firms,[3] has beyond question been of influence in strengthening the American architects in their independence, and furnishing suggestions. Professor N. C. Ricker, director of the school of architecture in the University of Illinois, translated Professor Otto Wagner's "Modern Architecture" in 1901, and the fact that the article was published[4] under the auspices of the Architectural League of America shows

[1] Dankmar Adler, the German member of the firm, was the engineer and business manager, and after his death the firm declined. Sullivan was the artist, Adler the scientific man.

[2] Other German names are George Maher and Arthur Heuer.

[3] Principally Bruno Hessling, whose New York establishment has founded branches in Chicago and San Francisco.

[4] Cf. *The Brickbuilder*, vol. x (1901), pp. 124 ff., 143 ff., 165 ff.

what interest was taken in the ideas advanced. The new style should be modern and should represent the present age and the individuality of the architect; romanticism should disappear almost entirely and reason prevail. Therefore the horizontal line and simplicity were recommended, the technical side (i. e., material and construction) should receive more attention than the artistic. Frank Lloyd Wright, a prominent member of the Chicago School of Architects, expressed exactly the same principles in a recent article, "In the Cause of Architecture."[1] Whether an influence or a parallel, the contemporaneous working-out of a similar artistic problem on the same principles is an interesting phenomenon.

The architecture of the modern German suburban home, the German villa, is beginning to be studied,[2] and it is very probable that with the more frequent use of concrete as a building material in the United States, the influence of the German villa will be felt. Its architecture is unaffected, rational, modern. None of the grotesque curves and ornamentations of the German Renaissance have remained; simplicity and directness are the principles observed in the exterior and the furnishing within. A characteristic also of the German suburb of recent construction, as, for example, Grunewald bei Berlin, is the harmonious effect of the architectural units. On the other hand, American architectural forms are being studied in Germany,[3] and, judging from a recent address of the court architect of the German Emperor, Ernst von

[1] Cf. *The Architectural Review*, vol. xxiii, pp. 155 ff. (1908.)

[2] Cf. Claude F. Bragdon, *Modern German Domestic Architecture, American Architect*, vol. xcii (1907). The architect, Mr. Bragdon, has modeled several cottages after German villas.

[3] Cf. *Das Moderne Landhaus und seine innere Ausstattung*, von Hermann Muthesius, Zweite Auflage. (München, 1905.)

Ihnen,[1] American architecture is taken seriously at least in Germany.

An earlier influence of the German element seems to be traceable in Eastern Pennsylvania, due to the Pennsylvania-Germans.[2] The structure of their barns has been imitated over wide areas, and their homes and inns of the colonial period also possessed individuality. The large and broad-spreading roof, holding a top floor in its embrace, and set upon a low wall with high windows, — this model is frequently being used in Eastern Pennsylvania for the homes of the rich.

In adapting the best of the European styles and creating on American soil rivals to the finest specimens known in Europe, architects of German blood have been very prominent. One of the first great architects born in America, Thomas Ustick Walter, who gained the reputation of being the most strenuous advocate of the pure classical style, was of German descent.[3] His design and construction of Girard College, Philadelphia, one of the most dignified classical structures (Corinthian style) in our country, brought Thomas U. Walter into fame. His plans for the extension of the National Capitol having been accepted, he was appointed in 1851 by President Fillmore to superintend the work of construction in

[1] Cf. *American Architect*, vol. xci (1907), pp. 156 ff., *A German Authority on German and American Architecture.*

[2] Cf. *Dutch and German Eighteenth Century Work*, in *The Georgian Period*, part iii. (1902. Boston publication.)

[3] This information was derived from the daughters of T. U. Walter (resident in Washington), through the kindness of Mr. Glenn Brown, secretary of the American Institute of Architects, Washington, D. C. The grandfather of the architect, Jacob Frederick Walter, came to America from Germany with his parents when a boy of seven years. Ustick is not a family name, but is derived from the Reverend Thomas Ustick, a friend of the architect's parents.

Washington, a position in which he remained for fourteen years. He designed and executed the great iron dome and planned the extensions which made the United States Capitol one of the most imposing and beautiful of all government buildings in the world. During this period of service at Washington he designed and erected a number of other buildings after classical models, notably the United States Treasury Building and the east and west wings of the Patent Office.

The companion-piece of the Capitol in Washington is the impressively beautiful Library of Congress, in Italian Renaissance style, without and within a triumph of the architect's art. The competition for the architectural plans of the new library was won by a German New York firm, the architects Smithmeyer and Pelz. In 1886 Congress formally adopted the plans of John L. Smithmeyer, who had been assisted by Paul J. Pelz. The latter subsequently supervised the work of construction and fixed the plans and main proportions of the building, remaining for some time in Washington to aid in designing the artistic features of the architecture.[1] The German sculptor, Albert Weinert, was put at the head of the staff of modelers. The architect, Paul J. Pelz, was born in Silesia, Germany, in 1841. He left his home at the age of sixteen to join his father in the United States, who was a refugee of 1848. Previous to his work on the Congressional Library, he was connected with the United States Lighthouse Board as architect and civil engineer. He was the architect of the Carnegie Library and Music Hall at Allegheny, Pennsylvania; the Chamberlin Hotel, Old Point Comfort, Virginia; the Aula Christi, Chautauqua, New York; Machinery Hall, Louis-

[1] Cf. *Handbook of the New Library of Congress.* (Boston, 1901.)

iana Purchase Exposition, and many other beautiful buildings.

G. L. Heins, of the firm of Heins and La Farge, who won a gold medal at the St. Louis Fair, was born in Philadelphia in 1860. His firm are the architects for the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York; New York Zoölogical Park, etc. Heins has been state architect of all New York state buildings since 1898.[1] Theodore Carl Link (born in Germany, in 1850) won the first prize in the competition for the St. Louis Union Station, the largest railway terminal station in the world, which was built from his plans and under his supervision. He was the consulting architect of the St. Louis City Hall, the architect of the Mississippi State House, and of many other public buildings. The German architects William Schickel and I. E. Ditmars have built a large number of churches, hospitals, large business buildings, and private residences in New York City, as, for instance, St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Francis', St. Vincent's, St. Joseph's, and the German hospitals, the Knickerbocker Building, and that of the New York "Staatszeitung." W. C. Zimmerman of Chicago was for some years state architect of Illinois. Very prominent in architecture in New York is the name of Eidlitz. The father, Leopold Eidlitz, was one of the founders of the American Institute of Architects, and the son, Cyrus W. Eidlitz, ably continues in the traditional occupation of the family. George Hansen (born in Hildesheim, Germany, in 1863), of Berkeley, California, goes into landscape architecture as adviser to park commissions, municipalities, and cemetery associations.

There have been five schools of architecture in the United

[1] In that capacity he constructed the new buildings of the New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, New York.

States, in the order of their foundation, that of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell University, University of Illinois, Columbia University, and University of Pennsylvania. Most of the teaching done at these was under French influence, largely because the French schools furnished the best models of imitation. The Germans have taught architecture as a branch of engineering, and have therefore laid particular stress upon the subject of construction. In fact the influence of German architects in this country has been exercised most beneficently when shoddy work in our public and private buildings needed to be replaced by genuine and thorough construction. The German element among the teachers of architecture is represented by Professor Nathan Clifford Ricker, dean of the College of Engineering in the University of Illinois since 1878, and director of the department of architecture; and by Professor Clarence Augustine Martin,[1] director of the College of Architecture, Cornell University.

E. Graphic Arts: illustrators, designers, artist-photographers

In artistic illustrating the German element is also well represented. Charles W. Reinhardt (born in Würtemberg, Germany, in 1868) has been a prominent illustrator since 1890; L. W. Zeigler (born in Baltimore, in 1868) has contributed to "Life," "Century," "Cosmopolitan," etc., and has illustrated many books; Charlotte Weber Ditzler (born in Philadelphia, in 1877), student of the Royal Academy of Munich, has furnished illustrations for magazines and books. G. W. Gaul (born in Jersey City,

[1] The writer is indebted to Professor C. A. Martin and Professor Albert C. Phelps, of Cornell University, for valuable suggestions and bibliographical materials. Professor Phelps was a student of Professor Ricker in Illinois, and through him was influenced to study the German as well as the French educational methods in architecture, while abroad.

New Jersey, in 1855) and Arthur I. Keller (born in New York, in 1866) have won many medals at American expositions. Some of the best works of the latter are "At mass," bought by the Munich Academy, "Lead, kindly light," "The finishing touches," etc. He illustrated a large number of books, among them "The Virginian," "The Right of Way," "Bret Harte Stories."

In the art of wood engraving Frederick Juengling was faultless in technique and representative of impressionist treatment. He was skillful in imitating the very sweep of the painter's brush and the defects of the canvas.[1] Gustav Kruell (born in Düsseldorf, Germany, in 1843), winner of a gold medal at the St. Louis Exposition, modeled portraits with rare precision. William Miller (born in New York, in 1850, of German parents) started engraving on wood at Frank Leslie's publishing house, then studied in Germany, and from 1877 to 1889 was associated with Frederick Juengling. Another German engraver is E. Schladitz (born in Leipzig, in 1862), a winner of many exposition medals. Henry Wolf (born in Alsace, in 1852), author of many well-known engravings in books and magazines, was a member of the international jury of awards, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. An artist lithographer is Max F. Klepper (born in Germany, in 1861); an etcher of note is Jacques Reich (born in Hungary, in 1852), who made most of the pen-portraits for Scribner's "Encyclopedia of Painters and Paintings," and for Appleton's "Encyclopedia of American Biography," etc.

A most important name is that of Alfred Stieglitz (born in Hoboken, in 1864), the pictorial photographer and editor of the "Camera Notes" — "more artistically gotten

[1] Cf. Hartmann, vol. ii, p. 147.

up than any art magazine America ever had." "He gathered around him all the leading artist photographers of the country, and afforded them the opportunity of becoming known by monthly exhibitions at the club-rooms. Everything praiseworthy in American photography is directly or indirectly due to him."[1] "His best-known prints are 'The net-mender,' 'On the Seine,' 'Scurrying home,' 'The Savoy at night,' and 'Snowstorm on Fifth Avenue.' The latter, of which only half a dozen perfect prints exist (which have brought as much as $150), is a masterpiece and ranks with the best work of any other black-and-white process." Stieglitz and his followers (among them the German names, Gertrude Käsebier, R. Eickemeyer, and E. J. Steichen) work from a conviction that some effects can be accomplished in photography which are beyond the reach of painting. The members of this school work for the advancement of the artistic expression of photography, and devote their lives to this end.

Recapitulating briefly concerning the German influence on music and the fine arts in America, we note in the first place that the Germans have been responsible for the development of musical taste in the United States. This was true of vocal and instrumental music, and finally of the opera. In painting, American artists twice stood under German influence, once during the period of the Düsseldorf school, in historical and landscape painting, about 1840–1860, and again within the recent period of the ascendency of the Munich school, after 1880. Germans have taught American painters the technique of the art, just as in the department of music, and in America they hold a large number of the most prominent positions in American music and art schools. In sculpture, the popu-

[1] Hartmann, vol. ii, pp. 154–158.

larizing of the art through architectural decoration has been accomplished under the leadership of two Germans, Karl Bitter and F. W. Ruckstuhl. As masters in sculpture, William H. Rinehart, C. H. Niehaus, and a large number of others have created lasting works. The development of a taste and demand for sculpture in America is largely due to German influence. In architecture, the Germans have seconded the inventors of new forms, and some of the noblest structures, as Girard College, the United States Treasury, the Dome of the Capitol, the Congressional Library, the Union Station in St. Louis, the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, have been designed by German architects. As illustrators, designers, and artist-photographers the Germans have also figured prominently.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT

II. THE THEATRE, LITERATURE, AND JOURNALISM

(A) THEATRE: Condition of the American theatre — The "Meininger," and German methods of the stage — The Irving Place Theatre — Conried's visits to universities — Schiller's "Maid of Orleans" at Harvard — College dramatics — American playwrights — Charles Klein — Favorable indications for the future.

(B) LITERATURE: German-American literature briefly considered — The eighteenth century — Pennsylvania-Dutch — Whittier's allusions to Pennsylvania-Germans — Travel literature and fiction — Poets and writers of the nineteenth century — Hans Breitmann's ballads — Representative American writers of German descent; Bayard Taylor, Joaquin Miller, Nordhoff, Timrod, Saxe, Wister, etc. — Influence of German romanticism and transcendental philosophy upon American literature in its best period.

(C) JOURNALISM: Cartoonists: Nast, Keppler, etc. — German newspapers; function; influence; statistics — German element in the American press — German war correspondents — German owners of American newspapers.

A. The Theatre

OF all the phases of art cultivated in the United States, the drama stands lowest to-day. There have been notable performances by great actors, the equals, perhaps, of any in other countries; nevertheless in the dramatic art there has not been the same progress as in music, or the same good beginning as in painting or sculpture toward a development of taste for higher standards. When the American theatre-goer speaks of going to a "show," meaning a play, he unconsciously criticises the existing state of things. Spectacular exhibitions, with masses of performers, brilliant costumes, and magnificent scenery are created

to please or fill the eye, and, while there is a place for such performances, a taste that continues to be satisfied with mere display and bigness smacks of vulgarity. One is reminded of the vast jubilee concerts of Gilmore in 1872, with their twenty thousand performers, where music was visualized and wholesaled, but which we now set down as something overcome. There are certain conditions in America which check the development of better dramatic art. The theatre trust, stretching to the west as far as San Francisco and to the south all the way to New Orleans, like a great octopus, holds in its clutch the best playhouses of all the leading cities.[1] The effect is to destroy competition, to produce obedient, manageable artists, and to encourage mediocrity. Again, the starring system, so much in vogue in our country, exalts the individual actor above the purpose of the play or the genius of the dramatist. Our managers do not change their play-bills and the actors are therefore not called upon to exercise their talents in various rôles. They are like factory hands on piece-work, — not masters of an art, but mechanical repeaters of some small section of the article to be manufactured. If some actor has succeeded well in a particular rôle he is generally doomed to play that kind of part all the season or all his life. He becomes neither a student of life nor an artist able to imitate the subtle idiosyncrasies of human personality. These are some of the manifest evils that produce the present low level of the American theatre.

In Germany, the home and refuge of the serious drama, the death-blow was dealt the starring system by the players of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, who performed be-

[1] In smaller cities, the one- or two-night stands, which lie along the routes of travel, the owners of theatres are also entirely at the mercy of the trust managers. The latter dictate what plays are to come, and opposition means ruin to the small city manager.

tween 1874 and 1890 on the stage of Germany, and exhibited their art also in London, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg. The Meininger made their first appearance in Berlin in May, 1874, and by their effective *ensemble* revolutionized the methods of performing drama in Germany. The duke's troupe did not possess any luminaries equal to the many stars at that time casting their lustre upon the German metropolis. The critics commented upon this circumstance, and yet consented that the Meininger had produced an effect infinitely superior to anything that had been seen in Berlin that winter. The players were remarkable for harmonious equality of talent, simplicity, naturalness, and finish in execution. They were careful in their selection of plays of the lasting quality, and paid much attention to accurate detail in costumes and scenery. They did not produce a play for the glorification of any particular actor or manager, but they worked together for the most artistic interpretation of a dramatic masterpiece. The author was placed upon the throne and the actor became his servant. The idea of *ensemble* effect had been derived from the Wagner opera, where the equality of singers and orchestra, the equal coöperation of drama and music, had been enforced in the cause of artistic unity. Since the period of the Elizabethan drama, no nation has produced so many classical plays capable of being presented on the stage as Germany. National pride upholds the German theatre and makes of it an educational factor.

The Meininger furnished the example for all that is superior in German dramatic performances. Their methods were consistently followed by but one stage in America, which has been called "our only high-class theatre." [1] It

[1] Norman Hapgood, *The Stage in America, 1897–1900.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1901.)

was the Irving Place Theatre of New York City, when under the management of Heinrich Conried, 1892–1907.[1] Though the latter stood more in the public eye subsequently as the manager of the Metropolitan Opera House, and will ever be remembered in musical history for his first performances of "Parsifal" and "Salome" in America, and the bringing over of distinguished singers and conductors, as Felix Mottl, still Conried's greatest achievement was his German theatre at Irving Place, New York. A severe critic of dramatic performances said at the time: "This playhouse gives more classics than any of our English-speaking companies. . . . It is of a higher plane than was Daly's during the lifetime of Mr. Daly."[2] Mr. Conried took his theatre very seriously, and considered the director's work more an art than a trade. To make ends meet he was compelled to give up a good many weeks to farces that were new or popular in Germany, but he managed, during the weeks when these plays were on, to set aside certain evenings for some serious drama. The average number of different plays given in the season at his theatre was considerably over sixty, — in the opening year over seventy, — most of them new to the public. "The superiority of Mr. Conried's company consists in objectivity, in harmonious work together, and in versatility. The actors play farce on the whole perhaps neither better nor worse than our own superior farce-comedies,

[1] Mr. Heinrich Conried was born in Bielitz, Silesia, Austria, in 1855. He made his début as an actor at the Hofburgtheater in Vienna, in 1873; played successively at the Nationaltheater in Berlin and the Stadttheater in Bremen; came to New York in 1878, and was connected with the Germania Theatre; in 1892 he became the director and sole lessee of the Irving Place Theatre, successor to Amberg; in 1903 he was appointed manager of the Metropolitan Opera House, continuing for some years also the directorship of the Irving Place Theatre, until his health gave way. He died in 1909.

[2] Hapgood, p. 143.

but these same actors can play the highest poetic dramas. They know how to recite verse and they know the meaning of poetry." "Mr. Conried can put on 'Die versunkene Glocke' for a few nights any time, and follow it with anything else, and if it is not drawing particularly well, nobody is bankrupt." Mr. Conried believed that the public is not benefited by too sumptuous a stage-setting. The attention should be directed to the interpretation and the artistic efforts of the performers. The dramatic critic quoted above describes a contrast between German and English methods as shown in the performance of "Maria Stuart," a play which actresses, including Madame Janauschek, Madame Modjeska, and Fanny Davenport, have acted on the American stage. "Modjeska's Mary is one of her most beautiful creations, the best Mary I have seen, but yet the play never moved me as it did at the Irving Place, because the whole cast there was so much better than Modjeska's ever is." [1] The title rôle was played at the German theatre by a person much less gifted than Madame Modjeska, but the genius of the poet Schiller found expression instead, and the artistic effect was far superior to any ever produced by an actor, however famous. Conried nevertheless secured many artists of the first rank for his troupe, as Hedwig Lange, Marie Reichardt, Hedwig von Ostermann, Hermine Varma, Alexander Rattmann, Adolf Zimmermann, Gustaf von Seyffertitz, and many others. Distinguished actors from Germany have frequently appeared, as Adolf Sonnenthal, Ludwig Barnay, Ferdinand Bonn, Georg Engels, Marie Geistinger, Agnes Sorma, Helene Odilon.

The example of Conried's German theatre has undoubt-

[1] Hapgood, p. 237. An agreement with Mr. Hapgood's point of view can be found in *The Theatre* (New York, 1902), by H. P. Mawson.

edly had a good effect in New York and elsewhere. The principles illustrated by him have found frequent adoption by the numerous stock companies formed in various cities of our country. The stock company, in which the players are shareholders, remains in the same location for the whole season, and changes the playbill every week. The players become versatile students of life and the art of portraying it; their success depends upon their working together to produce an artistic unity. Unfortunately the theatre trust holds so many of the best theatres in its grasp that the stock company is deprived of the chance of a healthy growth.

After the retirement of Heinrich Conried from the management of the Irving Place Theatre, Dr. Maurice Baumfeld became its director for a year, and produced a number of German classics, among them "Götz von Berlichingen," attaining high standards. In the season of 1908–1909 two German theatres existed in New York City, Dr. Baumfeld and the brilliant actor, Eugene Burg, becoming the directors of the beautifully housed Neues Deutsches Theater (Madison Avenue, near 59th Street), and the Irving Place Theatre continuing under a new directorship. The rivalry of the two theatres resulted much as the competition between Mapleson and Abbey in the early days of grand opera; both theatres met with heavy financial losses and closed their doors at the end of a shortened season.[1] The lesson of the failure is that New York City will not support two German theatres of the same class, but there is no cause for a panic, for the German drama

[1] The Neues Deutsches Theater occupied the building of the old Lenox Lyceum, which was altogether reconstructed and most artistically decorated. For description and illustrations, see *Architectural Record*, December, 1908. The theatre passed into the hands of the Shuberts and was given over to vaudeville.

will have a home again in 1909–1910 at the Irving Place Theatre.

Other cities with large German populations have had German theatres or stock companies performing in the German language. A veteran theatrical manager in the Central West has been Director Leon Wachsner, the founder of a permanent German company in Milwaukee,[1] which visits Chicago and St. Louis at regular intervals. The Germans of the two cities last named and of Cincinnati have repeatedly undertaken theatrical ventures of a more or less permanent kind, but the most successful foundation within recent years has been the Deutsches Theater of Philadelphia. This institution owns a home, built for its own use, and has passed through a number of successful seasons with its own stock company. The German social clubs and singing-societies all over the country are very fond of amateur performances, which at least keep alive the interest in the German theatre.

During his directorship of the Irving Place Theatre, Heinrich Conried made a practice of lecturing on German dramatic literature at some of the Eastern universities of the country, in conjunction with bringing the best talent of his German company to the university town for a high-class performance of a German classic, as Goethe's "Iphigénie," Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," Freytag's "Journalisten," etc. At several institutions he made his

[1] Since 1890 the performances of the German stock company have been given in the Pabst Theater, built by Captain Fred Pabst. Associated with Director Wachsner as permanent members of the company were Ferdinand Welb, Julius Richard, Hermann Werbke, and Hedwig Beringer. Many players were imported from Germany every year, and an excellent standard was maintained. Celebrated actors from Germany performed at the Milwaukee theatre from time to time, as Possart, Kainz, Barnay, Hase, Ellmenreich, Niemann-Rabe, and Sonnenthal. Cf. Hense-Jensen and Bruncken, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner*, vol. ii, pp. 222–223.

visit an annual affair, and on every occasion the university received the entire income from the night's performance[1] as a gift to the library fund. Mr. Conried had a serious purpose in view, wishing not only to acquaint American students with the beauty and humanity of the classical German drama, but hoping that the seed might be sown for some favorable influence upon the American stage. The example of Heinrich Conried was followed, consciously or unconsciously, in the magnificent performance of Schiller's "Jungfrau von Orleans," by Maude Adams and Mr. Charles Frohman's[2] troupe, in the Harvard Stadium, June 22, 1909. Perhaps never before in the history of our country was a classic drama staged so elaborately or attended by so large an audience. About fifteen hundred performers took part in the pageantry and battle scenes, and the audience, gathered in a huge semicircle, filled every one of the fifteen thousand available seats. Though the spectacle of vast numbers in the coronation scene or the battlefield of the last act was imposing, pageantry and pantomime were not more impressive than the skill with which the drama was performed. The players could be heard as well as seen on the great open-air stage, and they produced successfully an artistic illusion. Maude Adams portrayed the Maid of Orleans not realistically, not as a robust peasant girl, but as the romantic ideal, spiritual, and conscious of a heavenly mission. The English version used was that of Anna Swanwick, thoroughly revised and adapted for the occasion by George Sylvester Viereck. The play had never been attempted in America before, and its great success

[1] Mr. Conried even refused in many cases to accept hotel expenses for his performers.

[2] The Frohmans, Charles and Daniel, theatrical managers, born in this country, were descended from German-Jewish ancestry.

on so large a scale was a wonderful tribute to two unequaled phases of Schiller's genius, his great force in dramatic action and his skill in the introduction of the spectacular. The event[1] will undoubtedly make Germany's greatest dramatist more popular in America, and stand out as a record of achievement in our dramatic history.

There are no minds more receptive to cultivating influences than the young, and there are no young people who can be reached better by instruction than college students. Therefore the amateur dramatic performances by college students, if the effort be directed seriously upon the literary drama, may have a very beneficent influence upon the development of the American theatre. Many of our college dramatic clubs play Shakespeare, Sheridan, or Ibsen with better effect than the professionals. If the principles of the "Meininger" be observed, faithful interpretation of the author, careful study and "team-work" by the players, naturalness and finish in execution, amateurs may produce an *ensemble*, the artistic effect of which cannot be surpassed by great artists of the stage. Every time a literary masterpiece has been well performed before a college audience, a stone has been laid in the foundation of better things for the American drama. The participants are rarely inspired to become actors; they have seen the difficulties of the art, but as in music, unless there are performers there is no development. As the beauty and the possibilities of the literary drama are recognized, and they never fail to be when well presented, writers will arise, a demand will be created, and perhaps the American college student will appear prominent in the movement of creating an American literary drama. The university has been

[1] The immediate occasion for the performance was to give a benefit for the Germanic Museum of Harvard University.

the protector of the literary drama before in the history of the world's literature.

Not only in English but also in the foreign languages have American students rendered beautifully the best types of the literary drama. The Greek play given in the Harvard Stadium in 1906, the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, was a memorable event in the dramatic history of our country. The universities of Chicago, Cornell, and Michigan have rendered French classical plays with artistic finish. The "Deutscher-Verein" of Michigan has successfully performed German classics, such as Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," Gutzkow's "Zopf und Schwert," Goethe's "Egmont." At Evanston the students of Northwestern gave a unique dramatization of Heine's "Junge Leiden." The "Deutscher-Verein" of Cornell University for some years has given an annual play of the type of Freytag's "Die Journalisten," and in December, 1908, performed Meyer-Förster's "Alt-Heidelberg," before a large and critical audience in the Neues Deutsches Theater of New York City. The comment heard frequently about the performance was that "the play was not acted, it was lived." The director, Dr. Baumfeld, told the players they had accomplished that beyond which the greatest artists could not go, they had held a crowded house in rapt attention for three hours, and at will provoked their laughter or caused their tears to flow.[1] The colleges for women have not

[1] Meyer-Förster's "Alt-Heidelberg" was given by the students of the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, soon after, in February, 1909. The ease with which American students fall into the spirit of the play shows that students are alike the world over. This play will undoubtedly be popular among students long after it has passed from the professional stage. The German student songs, which may be introduced in great numbers in the play, can be made a feature of the performance. Most colleges and a great many high schools of this country have given good one-act plays in German, and some have tried themselves in the higher class of farce, such as Von Moser's

stood behind the coeducational and men's colleges in the seriousness with which they have taken up the literary drama. Their annual plays, often performed out of doors, with the beauty of grove, hill, and sky to add picturesqueness to the scene, are truly artistic, and are events long remembered by participants and onlookers. These many admirable performances of literary dramas at our colleges together constitute a strong influence toward the development of taste for a theatre of a higher standard.

Ludwig Fulda, in the reminiscences of his American visit, called the drama in our country the Cinderella of all the arts. He was shocked by the apparent greed of our eyes, our fondness for mawkish sentimentality and melodrama,[1] the backwardness of the literary drama, and the mercenary position taken by our theatrical dictators. Still he was interested in the evident beginnings of an American drama. The dramatic critic, Norman Hapgood, classes James A. Herne and William Gillette[2] as the ablest of American dramatists, and worthy of the name. The most auspicious sign for the future is the spontaneous popularity of every good play as soon as it makes its appearance. This eagerness of the American people for plays of the better sort[3] proves that the popular taste is not depraved, but very capable of cultivation. The literary drama is less expensive to put on the stage than the sumptuous shows

"Bibliothekar" (which has been given by Cornell, Michigan, Lafayette, and Horace Mann Preparatory School). The purpose was frequently that of linguistic training, which is well served by small and by large plays.

[1] Fulda cites the instance of "The Girl of the Golden West." Cf. *Amerikanische Eindrücke*, pp. 141–143.

[2] Both of these men are native Americans; some of Herne's best works are "Hearts of Oak," "The Minute Men," "Drifting Apart," "Margaret Fleming," "Shore Acres"; some of Gillette's are "The Professor," "Esmeralda," "Held by the Enemy," "Secret Service," "Sherlock Holmes."

[3] As was seen in the popularity of Kennedy's "Servant in the House," Clyde Fitch's "The Climbers," and the plays of Charles Klein.

of the present, and the receipts are proportionately larger. This commercial view of the case has already begun to make theatrical managers very anxious to secure good plays and encourage talented playwrights. With the very best should be ranked a dramatist who has within recent times written plays of great merit. He is the author of "The Music Master" and "The Lion and the Mouse," Charles Klein, born in London, but the spelling of whose name points unmistakably to German origin.[1] Both in plot and in character-drawing his plays stand far above most contemporaneous works. Their reception in New York City and elsewhere was remarkable, showing that enthusiasm does not fail when genuine dramatic work appears. There is beyond question a better future in store for the American theatre, professional and amateur actors and talented playwrights are steadily improving conditions, but the development has by no means advanced as far as in the departments of music and the fine arts.

B. Literature

The Germans who have come to the United States have produced a literature of their own. It is written in the German language, and consists of memoirs, poems, works of fiction, books of travel and learning. Its chief value consists in its historical interest, as it is descriptive of the weal and woe of the German immigrants in this country and furnishes a record of their outer and inner life. Its literary value, with some exceptions, is not great, yet the day may come when this literature will be studied with much care

[1] The dramatist's father was born in Russian Poland, and became a naturalized citizen in London. "Personally I am of the opinion that we are of German descent through a grandfather," is the statement made by Mr. Charles Klein in a note replying to the writer's inquiry, February 23, 1907.

and advantage.[1] It is voluminous and a consideration of it in detail does not belong to a work on the influence of the German element in the United States. The German-American literature was written mainly for Germans in this country, and there has been little influence beyond that. Here and there, however, an important exception may be noted. Books written in English by Germans in this country have often been of very great influence, some instances of which will be given in a succeeding paragraph. The literature of Germany on America is a study by itself,[2] fascinating because it exhibits the changing attitude of Europe toward America from one of romantic glorification to excessive depreciation and finally to a more rational view and better understanding. German-American literature properly includes only works written in the German language in America by Germans or persons of German descent who have made their homes in the United States.

The German-American literature begins with the writings of the patriarch, Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown. His description of Pennsylvania (1700), his scrap-book so appropriately called the "Beehive," have been described in a previous chapter.[3] Then followed the

[1] A mark of growing recognition of the subject is its inclusion in the new editions of the standard German encyclopædias, Meyer, and Brockhaus (*Nordamerikanische Literatur in deutscher Sprache*).

[2] Cf. Lida von Krockow, *American Characters in German Novels, Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1891, volume lxviii, pp. 824–838. Also, J. T. Hatfield and Elfrieda Hochbaum (Mrs. Pope), *The Influence of the American Revolution upon German Literature, Americana Germanica*, vol. iii, nos. 3 and 4; Camillo von Klenze, *The United States in European Literature*, a paper read before the Modern Language Association of America, December 29, 1908; Hermann Balz, *Geschichte des deutschen Urteils über Amerika, 1700–1860, nach Schriften der Reisenden und Eingewanderten, in 2 Teilen, einem historischen (und bibliographischen) und analytischen.* This work is in preparation and promises a thorough-going treatment of the subject.

[3] Volume I, Chapter II, p. 44.

hymns and theosophical writings of Kelpius and Beissel, and a long train of religious works by sectarians, ministers, and laymen. There should be included the reports of the German ministers to the home church, as the "Hallesche Nachrichten" from Pennsylvania and the "Urlsperger Reports" from the Salzburgers of Georgia, which are documents of very great historical value. Religious literature predominated to the period of the Revolution and even after. The Sauer Press accomplished the unique feat of printing the first Bible in America, increased the number of hymn-books, and in the first German newspaper adopted a religious tone. A most influential publication[1] of the Sauer Press was "Der Hochteutsche-Amerikanische Kalender," begun in 1738 and continued for many years.

The refreshing and historically valuable dialect literature of the Pennsylvania-Germans was a product of the nineteenth century. The two most prominent poets, for such a title may be bestowed upon them, who wrote in Pennsylvania-Dutch,[2] are Henry Harbaugh and Henry L. Fisher. Harbaugh was a clergyman of the German Reformed Church and prominent also as the biographer of Michael Schlatter. He was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, in 1817, and died in 1867. He never could be induced to publish his dialect poems, but after his death the Reverend B. Bausmann collected them under the title "Harbaugh's Harfe" (Philadelphia, 1870). The most widely known of these poems is "The Old School-House on the Creek"

[1] The full significance of this influence has not yet been thoroughly investigated. It was undoubtedly a model for others in German and English.

[2] A scientific study of this dialect has been made by Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania. *The Pennsylvania-German Dialect*, part i. (Baltimore, 1889.) An earlier study was made by S. S. Haldemann, entitled *Pennsylvania-Dutch: A dialect of South German, with an infusion of English.* (London, Trübner, 1872.) Cf. also P. E. Gibbons, *Pennsylvania-Dutch and Other Essays.* (2d edition, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1874.)

("Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick"), of which the first stanza reads: —

"Heit is 's 'xäctly zwanzig Johr,
Dasz ich bin owwe naus ;
Nau bin ich widder lewig z'rick
Un schteh am Schulhaus an d'r Krick,
Juscht neekscht an's Dady Haus."

The homely simplicity and tender pathos of the poems "Heemweh," "Der alte Feierheerd," "Die Alt Miehl," and others remind one strongly of the German dialect poet of the Black Forest, J. P. Hebel ("Allemannische Gedichte"). Other examples of his folk-poetry are "Das Krischkindel" (Santa Claus), "Busch un Schtedel" (Town and Country), "Der Kerchegang in Alter Zeit" (Church-going in the Olden Time), "Will Widder Buwele Sei" (I want to be a boy again).

Henry L. Fisher published two collections, "'s alt Marik-Haus mittes in d'r Schtadt," [1] and "Kurzweil und Zeitfertreib odder Pennsylfanisch-deutsche Folkslieder." [2] The poems furnish a vivid picture of the life of the Pennsylvania-German farmers, and reflect their quaint customs, superstitions, and the inner life of their daily existence. Their joyful frolics, huskings, apple-butter boilings, and quilting-parties are made the centre of interest in many of the poems. This poetical literature of the Pennsylvania-Germans is one of the few original notes in American lyrical poetry. Historically they should be given rank with the plantation lyrics of the South.

The Pennsylvania-Germans were made the subject [3] of

[1] A centennial poem in Pennsylvania-German, in two parts, with illustrations. (York, Pennsylvania, 1879.)

[2] York, Pennsylvania, 1882.

[3] Cf. also the novel by Helen Reimensnyder Martin, *Tillie, a Mennonite Maid*, and the review of it in *German-American Annals*, New Series, vol. iii, pp. 27 ff. The short stories of Elsie Singmaster, appearing in the *Atlantic*,

lyrical compositions by one of America's greatest poets, John Greenleaf Whittier. Two of his most famous poems are "Maud Muller," in which the Pennsylvania-German farm-girl attracts the love of the stately judge of high degree, and "Barbara Frietchie," the simple heroine of Frederick County, whose patriotism was not diminished when all about her seemed subdued; she waved the Stars and Stripes in the face of the Confederate enemy as they passed through Frederick Town: —

> "'Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
> But spare your country's flag,' she said."[1]

Other poems of Whittier in which the Pennsylvania-Germans figure are "Cobbler Keezar's Vision," "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim," and "The Palatine."[2]

The travel literature produced by Germans visiting this country dates back to an early colonial period,[3] the earli-

Lippincott's, *Century*, *Scribner's*, *Youth's Companion*, etc., are mostly concerned with the Pennsylvania-German folk.

[1] Barbara Frietchie was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1766, and died at Frederick, Maryland (the centre of the Maryland-German farmers), in 1862. Whittier undoubtedly used a poet's privilege in constructing the argument of his ballad. The Southern army had orders not to molest any of the inhabitants during their progress through Frederick. The honor of having waved the flag is claimed for another woman. Nevertheless the story of Barbara Frietchie's life, beginning with the birth of the nation and ending during the great crisis, her large acquaintance with national heroes, and her many patriotic utterances, give her a clear title to the fame bestowed upon her by the poet. Cf. *National Encyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. x, p. 113.

[2] Personal poems of Whittier are addressed to Carl Follen and Bayard Taylor. The anti-slavery poems "Ritner" and "Expostulation" are also full of allusions to the heroism and patriotism of the Pennsylvania-Germans.

[3] The earliest German record concerning South America appeared in 1520: *Neuzeit oder Brief eines deutschen Abenteurers, der mit Ferd. Cortez nach Mexiko und Jucatan kam, besser bekannt unter dem Namen "Zeitung aus Jucatan."* This was followed in 1532 by *Fahrten und Abenteuer Nikolaus Federmanns d. Jüngern aus Ulm in Venezuela.* This in turn was succeeded by numerous books on South American countries.

est specimen being "The Diary of Johannes Lederer," describing his journeys into the Alleghany Mountains and the Carolinas, 1669–1670.[1] In the eighteenth century descriptions and advertisements in favor of colonial immigration appeared in great numbers. Sometimes a pessimistic note was sounded, such as in Mittelberger's "Journey to Pennsylvania in 1750" (and return to Germany in 1754); more favorable reports came from Achenwall and the Swedish traveler Kalm. Letters of Hessian officers were printed in Schlözer's "Briefwechsel" (1776–1781), in Eelking's "Life of the Hessian Colonel Riedesel."[2] In the nineteenth century superabundant material appeared, as German travelers came in greater numbers. The most important accounts were those of Fürstenwerther, Gall, Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar, Löher, Duden, Von Raumer, Julius Fröbel, Moritz Busch, J. G. Büttner, and others.[3]

The novels of Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl), who published most of his books in Germany, were translated, and found their way to America. They furnished suggestions to writers in America and abroad, and some of the borrowings amount to plagiarisms.[4] Longfellow read the German-American romancer with great interest, calling him "our

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 26–28, and Chapter VII, p. 184. An English translation of the original Latin work appeared in London, in 1672. Rattermann translated this work into German in *Der deutsche Pionier*.

[2] Other letters are accessible in Rattermann's *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, in *Americana Germanica*, etc.

[3] For the titles of the works of these men and for other travel literature, cf. Bibliography at the close of this Volume.

[4] A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl); Materials for a Biography; a Study of his Style; his Influence on American Literature*. (Baltimore, 1892.) Otto Heller, *Charles Sealsfield, The Bulletin of the Washington University Association*, vol. vi. (1908.) New researches and discoveries have recently been made in Sealsfield biography by A. Ravizé of Bordeaux, who will soon publish a monograph on the subject.

favorite Sealsfield." The novels of this writer described types of American character such as had existed between 1820 and 1840. He arrested them at the moment of their highest development, before devouring time had blurred their features. The dauntless squatter and sturdy pioneer, the Southern planter and patriarchal slaveholder, the grasping millionaire and his emissaries, the New York dandy and the society belle, the taciturn sea-captain and the hot-blooded Kentuckian, the Texan alcalde and the desperado fugitive from justice, these types have been endowed with enduring life in Sealsfield's "Trans-Atlantic Sketches," "The Cabin Book," "Morton," and other fascinating story-books. Sealsfield's types of early Americans ought to be as familiar, at least to the German-American, as Bret Harte's early Californians, Cooper's brave mariners, George Cable's Creoles, or Hawthorne's Puritans. Sealsfield's tales are infinitely more readable than the extravaganzas of William Gilmore Simms, and his appreciative view of American conditions is exceptional among European travelers in this country at that time. Sealsfield was proud to call himself a citizen of the United States; though he went back to work and die in Switzerland, he clung to the proud title inscribed on his tombstone: "Bürger von Nordamerika." The very purpose of his books was to hold up to view the vigorous, self-reliant types of American manhood as models of imitation for the cultivated European.[1]

[1] Cf. *Charles Sealsfield* (*Carl Postl*), *Der Dichter beider Hemisphären, sein Leben und seine Werke*, von A. B. Faust. (Weimar, Felber, 1897.) A new critical edition of Sealsfield's works is soon to appear under the auspices of the Bibliothek Deutscher Schriftsteller aus Böhmen, and the general editorship of Professor Sauer, of the University of Prague, and Professor Heller, of Washington University, St. Louis. A number of American scholars have been asked to edit particular sections. Professor Heller is now preparing the opening volume.

Another German novelist of note who chose America for the scene of many of his tales is Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816–1872). He traveled extensively in North and South America. Some of the best of his stories are those concerned with the United States, such as "The Regulators of Arkansas" (1845), "The Mississippi Pictures" (1847–1848), "The River Pirates of the Mississippi" (1848), "California Sketches" (1856), and the one published immediately before his death, "To America," in which a shipload of German immigrants, after landing at New Orleans, make their way up the Mississippi and meet with varying fortunes. The worthy people in Gerstäcker's stories quite uniformly succeed, after many vicissitudes and much toil and trouble, and the author depicts their struggles with a good amount of historical accuracy. There are many other fiction-writers who have taken America for the scene of their romances, Armand (Strubberg), Möllhausen, Kürnberger,[1] Mügge, and others, but a consideration of them cannot be included in the present work.[2]

The experiences of the poet Nikolaus Lenau (Niembsch von Strehlenau), on the other hand, are interesting to us because they are the exact opposite of those of Sealsfield. This supersensitive son of European culture deluded himself with the belief that the goal of his wishes would be reached in a life as a farmer in the primeval forests of the New World. In October, 1832, he bought a farm[3] in a

[1] Cf. G. A. Mulfinger, *Ferdinand Kürnberger's Roman "Der Amerikamüde," dessen Quellen, u. s. w.*, *German-American Annals*, vol. i, pp. 315–346, 385–405.

[2] See A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield's Place in Literature*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, no. 1. The writers of the school of exotic romance, which Sealsfield founded, are there considered.

[3] Cf. G. A. Mulfinger, *Lenau in America*, *Americana Germanica*, vol. i, nos. 2 and 3; also T. S. Baker, *America as the Political Utopia of Young Germany*, *ibid.*, vol. i, no. 2.

rather poor country in Crawford County, Ohio. But he could not endure the monotony of frontier life, and rented out his farm to a man whom he trusted, but in whom he was deceived. No more delicately tuned poetic soul, weary unto death of the cultivation of Europe, ever came to America to live. But the American frontier was more eager to hear the optimistic echoes of the woodman's axe than the rarest notes of melancholy from Germany's most gifted singer of *Weltschmerz*. No experience in America pleased the poet except the sight of Niagara. A striking paragraph from his letters illustrates his bitterness of spirit: "The nightingale is right not to appear with this rabble. It seems to me to be of deep significance that America has no nightingale. It seems to me like a poetical curse. The voice of Niagara is necessary to impress upon these rogues that there are higher gods than those that come out of the mint. One need only see these churls in their hotels in order to hate them forever. A long table, fifty chairs on either side (so it is where I am staying); food, mostly meats, covers the whole table. The dinner-bell (Fressglocke) resounds, and a hundred Americans plunge in; no one looks at another, no one says a word, each one plunges upon his plate, devours what he can with great speed, then jumps up, turns the chair over, and hastens away to earn dollars. I am going to remain several days more, then I will go to Niagara, and if I find a good opportunity, go home. Niagara alone, I hope, will recompense me for the journey."

The literature of the nineteenth century includes such names as Carl Follen, Francis Lieber, Carl Schurz, Friedrich Münch, Georg Bunsen,[1] Friedrich Kapp, Gustav

[1] Georg Bunsen founded a school at Belleville, Illinois, was for some time a member of the State Board of Education of Illinois, and in his writ-

Körner, H. Rattermann, Oswald Seidensticker, and many others noteworthy in the historical or journalistic field. The works of Francis Lieber on topics of international law and social ethics, the speeches and historical works of Carl Schurz and Carl Follen, and the biographical histories of Friedrich Kapp (Steuben, Kalb, Hessian soldiers, etc.) have been of influence far beyond German readers, in America and Europe. The German professor is a productive scholar, and the works that he produces or the journals that he brings into being constitute a scientific and a literary influence. Numerous examples have been given in other chapters, that of Von Holst ("Constitutional History of the United States"), Hilgard ("Soils"), Fernow ("Forestry Quarterly"), Francke ("History of German Literature"), Münsterberg ("Die Amerikaner"), and many others. The great German political economist Friedrich List, during his residence in the United States (1825–1830) published his "Outlines of a New System of Political Economy" (1827), a work of very great influence in calling attention to the advantages of a protective tariff. Francis Lieber was the first compiler in this country of an encyclopædia in the English language, when he became the editor of the "Encyclopædia Americana" (1829–1833), in thirteen volumes. This work has been the basis of numerous subsequent editions; its articles on law were authoritative. A German encyclopædia was undertaken by Alexander J. Schem, with numerous excellent collaborators. Its title was "Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon" (1869–1874), in eleven volumes (Verlag von E. Steiger, New York). The demand for and

ings and as a practical teacher represented the methods of Pestalozzi. The works of the other men have been mentioned at other places. See Index at end of this Volume.

success of the undertaking cast much credit upon the Germans in the United States at the time. Dr. A. J. Schem later became one of the leading men in the compiling of "Johnson's Encyclopædia." It is an interesting fact that "Chambers' Encyclopædia," popular in English and American editions, was based upon the "Brockhaus Konversationslexikon," though by no means its equal. A feature of both the great German encyclopædias, the "Brockhaus" and the "Meyer," is their being brought up to date every ten years in new editions, a feature it were well to imitate.

Intellectual Germans have always displayed a taste for writing verse, and we therefore find that most of the great pioneers, and nearly all of the political refugees, put their experiences in the New World into verse. Collections of such poems have been made.[1] Most of the prominent singers were also journalists at one time or another, as Kaspar Butz ("Niagara"), Karl Heinrich Schnauffer ("Turnermarsch," "Deutscher Sang"), Eduard Dorsch ("Californien," 1849), Julius Dresel ("Auswanderers Schicksal"), Julius Gugler ("Vaterlandslos"), H. A. Rattermann, who wrote under the suggestive pseudonym "Reimmund" ("Nordamerikanische Vögel in Liedern," "Aphorismen und Agrionien"). Conrad Krez wrote perhaps the most beautiful of the innumerable songs that have been dedicated by German refugees to their abandoned fatherland. The first and last stanzas are as follows: —

"Kein Baum gehörte mir von deinen Wäldern,
Mein war kein Halm auf deinen Roggenfeldern,
Und schutzlos hast du mich hinaus getrieben,
Weil ich in meiner Jugend nicht verstand
Dich weniger und mehr mich selbst zu lieben,
Und dennoch lieb ich dich, mein Vaterland!"

[1] Cf. Dr. G. A. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Literatur.* (Chicago, 1894.) This is the most com-

"O würden jene, die zu Hause blieben,
Wie deine Fortgewanderten dich lieben,
Bald würdest du zu einem Reiche werden,
Und deine Kinder gingen Hand in Hand
Und machten dich zum gröszten Land auf Erden,
Wie du das beste bist, O Vaterland!"

Dr. Gustav Brühl, under the pen-name "Kara Giorg," wrote a large number of historical ballads ("Poesien des Urwalds"). Eduard Leyh [1] translated "The Star Spangled Banner," the Scotch ballad, "Annie Morrison," and Joaquin Miller's "Arizonian," in an almost perfect manner, reproducing the spirit of the original in every case. Theodor Kirchoff, the poet of the Golden Gate, wrote some beautiful verse, "Das stille Meer," "California," and other poems dedicated to his Western home. F. C. Castelhun dedicated a poem to the occasion of the "zweihundertjährige Jubelfeier der deutschen Einwanderung" (October 6, 1883), calling attention to the trials and glories of the German immigrants. Konrad Nies (born in 1862), actor and reciter, is the most gifted of the German-American singers of his generation, and controls a wide range of lyrical notes. Of the younger poets, George Sylvester Viereck (born in Munich, in 1884), who came to America in 1897 with his father, Louis Viereck, bears the crown both of achievement and promise. His volumes of poems ("Gedichte," New York, 1904, and "Niniveh und andere Gedichte," 1906) and his dramatic works ("A Game at Love and other plays," "The Vampire," 1908), though

plete collection. A monthly journal was started by Konrad Nies, called *Deutsch Amerikanische Dichtung*, which ran for two years. (New York, 1888–1890.) During the later period the original editor was assisted by H. Rosenthal. Cf. also Dr. G. A. Neeff, *Vom Lande des Sternenbanners*. (Heidelberg, 1905.) An anthology of poems by German-Americans.

[1] Cf. *Die Sonntagsschule des Herrn Eduard Leyh*, von A. B. Faust, *Die Glocke*, März, 1908. (Chicago.)

exhibiting the eccentricities of "Sturm und Drang," bear the marks of the genuine poet's frenzy, power and passion, and rare charm of form.

It is not possible within this chapter to do justice to the numerous single poems of merit, nor to the scattered short stories produced by Germans in America. Among fiction-writers the name of greatest promise perhaps was that of Reinhold Solger, who met an untimely death by being thrown from his horse. His novel "Anton in America," was far above the ordinary. He also wrote the prize poem in honor of the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birthday, in 1859. L. A. Wollenweber wrote fiction under the pseudonym "Der Alte vom Berge." G. Stüremburg was the author of "Klein Deutschland: Bilder aus dem New Yorker Alltagsleben,"[1] and Johann Rittig wrote sketches called "Federzeichnungen aus dem amerikanischen Stadtleben."[2] Within the last decade appeared a socialistic novel by Max Arlberg, entitled "Joseph Freifeld."

Dialect literature has also been popular in America, particularly that which is a mixture of a German dialect with the English language. We find Plattdeutsch in the works of F. W. Lafrentz and Bornemann, in imitation of Klaus Groth and Fritz Reuter; the most successful in the latter, however, is Carl Münter in his "Nu sünd wi in Amerika." Emil Dietzsch imitates the dialect of the Palatinate, Heerbrandt and Bürkle that of Swabia. Karl Adler presented a mixture of dialect and broken English in his "Mundartlich Heiteres" (Steiger). The Hessian dialect in the transformation which it received in this country is represented in a most amusing manner by Georg Asmus

[1] E. Steiger & Co., New York, dritte Auflage, 1889.
[2] E. Steiger & Co., New York, dritte Auflage, 1889.

in his "Amerikanisches Skizzebüchelche, Eine Epistel in Versen": —

"Von einem in Amerika
Der, was er ass und trank und sah,
Und was ihn sonst noch da genirt,
Seim Ohm nach Hesse rapportirt." [1]

A caricature, not of the Pennsylvania-Germans, as is sometimes incorrectly stated, but of the Germans of about the middle of the nineteenth century, is furnished by Charles Godfrey Leland in his famous collection called "Hans Breitmann's Ballads." Perhaps the best known in the collection is the first, "Hans Breitmann's Party," written, as all the others are, in imitation of the broken English of a German immigrant. The humor is in most cases somewhat strained, and Leland is perhaps to blame also for the conventional caricature that the German finds difficulty in living down. According to this old tradition the German is inseparable from lager beer, Limburger cheese, sauerkraut, and a string of sausages. These attributes, with a red nose, a tipsy gait, and a fund of good nature, allowing others to make of him the butt of their jokes, convey to the American who has not traveled the impression of the German. Hans Breitmann is represented as shrewd enough in spite of his good nature to get along in the world, and is even up to tricks, for he is a mercenary soldier willing to fight on either side of the Civil War for what he can get out of it, a type certainly the exception and not the rule, in which Leland has again done the German a startling injustice. In the preface [2] of his book

[1] Willmer and Rogers News Co. (American News Co.) 1874.

[2] "America abounds with Germans, who having received in their youth a classical education, have passed through varied adventures and often present the most startling paradoxes of thought and personal appearance. I have seen a man bearing a keg, a porter, who could speak Latin fluently; I have been in a beer-shop kept by a man who was distinguished in the Frank-

Leland speaks very differently of the German whom he has so broadly caricatured.

Charles Leland has, on the other hand, done not a little toward introducing German literature to American readers by means of his translations of lyrical poetry, particularly that of Heine and Scheffel. His service can therefore be compared, though in a less degree, with Longfellow's, who, as professor at Harvard and as translator and teacher of foreign languages, contributed so much toward elevating the literary taste of his native country. Two men of German blood, Bayard Taylor and Charles Nordhoff, should likewise be named prominently in the class of those who stimulated interest in literature and travel, and widened the common intellectual horizon. Bayard Taylor's mother was of German descent and his wife was a German, the daughter of Professor Hansen, the astronomer. Bayard Taylor's travels all over the world were described in his literary works and on his lecture tours throughout the United States, in which he opened new vistas to men's minds. He was a most industrious writer of useful books, inspiring lectures, and well-timed newspaper articles. Much of his work is of considerable literary merit, as his novel "Hannah Thurston" and many of his poems. His studies in German literature and his epoch-making translation of Goethe's "Faust," in the original meters (1871), gave evidence of high literary qualities. The influence of such books reaches down to our own time. But greater than all was the charm

furt Parliament. I have found a graduate of the University of Munich in a negro minstrel troupe; and while mentioning these as a proof that Breitmann, as I have depicted him, is not a contradictory character, I cannot refrain from a word of praise as to the energy and patience with which the German under a cloud in America bears his reverses, and works cheerfully and uncomplainingly, until by sheer perseverance he in most cases conquers fortune."

of Taylor's personality, the inspiration of his example and presence. He was loved by his generation as were few other men, and his early death at his post when Minister Plenipotentiary to Germany was felt as a distinct loss to America and to American literature.[1]

Charles Nordhoff, born in Westphalia, Prussia, in 1830, was likewise a great traveler and lecturer. His books most remembered are, perhaps, "California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence" (1872); "Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands" (1874). He wrote on various subjects, political, historical, and philosophical. Another work of his, still authoritative, is "Communistic Societies of the United States" (1875).

Two of our American poets are of German descent, Miller and Timrod. Joaquin Miller had a German mother, and probably his father was also of German blood. He was born in Indiana in 1841, his baptismal name being Cincinnatus Heine (or Hiner) Miller. He adopted the pseudonym after his defense of Joaquin Murietta, a Mexican brigand. Joaquin Miller was a gold-miner, journalist, lawyer, country judge, land speculator, and adventurer, with many ups and downs of fortune. His "Songs of the Sierras" (1871) established his name as the singer *par excellence* of the Far West. They were first published in England and there created enthusiam comparable to that in the days of Byron. His poems breathe the spirit of adventure, the worship of

[1] The effect of Taylor's inspiring personality is reflected throughout the work of his wife, Marie Hansen-Taylor, *Aus zwei Welteilen*, one of the most charming books ever written by a woman. It is the work of a devoted wife, one of keen intellect and discrimination. The picture afforded of distinguished contemporaries and of American life a generation ago is exceedingly valuable. (Published by the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1905.) A translation into English has appeared, by Mrs. Marie Hansen-Taylor and her daughter, Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani, entitled : *On Two Continents: Memories of Half a Century.* (Doubleday, Page & Co. 1905.)

wild nature, the dash of strong personality, and the bold heroism that often oversteps the bounds of law. Melancholy and pessimism are also heard in the songs of the Sierra minstrel.[1]

A singer of a very different type was Henry Timrod. Like Sidney Lanier, Timrod is enshrined in the hearts of the Southern people, and a single word of harsh criticism would to them seem like a tactless intrusion. Both poets had a hard struggle for very existence in consequence of the Civil War, and when their struggles were about to be crowned with success, they died of consumption, as if flowers too rare to survive in this rude existence. The name of Timrod has been closely identified with the history of South Carolina for more than a century. The founder of the family, Henry Timrod, was born in Germany and became a prominent citizen of Charleston. He was a member of the German Friendly Society, which still exists and is more than a century and a quarter old. He was a member of the German Fusileers of Charleston, who as volunteers in 1775 formed in defense of the country immediately after the battle of Lexington. In the next generation, during the Seminole War, the German Fusileers were commanded by Captain William Henry Timrod, the father of the poet. In this Indian War, Captain Timrod contracted a mortal disease, and dying, left his family in straitened circumstances. The son, our poet, had the literary gift from his father; and from his mother, whose ancestors originally came from Switzerland, he inherited a passionate love of nature. His school-mate and lifelong friend, Paul H. Hayne, later his biographer, helped him overcome many of the obstacles of

[1] Cf. Joaquin Miller's *Arizonian*, which was admirably translated into German by E. F. Leyh, who preserved the spirit and filed away crudities in the original.

life and strengthened the poet's faith in his poetic powers. The high office of the poet is expressed by Timrod in the following words: —

> "All lovely things, and gentle — the sweet laugh
> Of children, Girlhood's kiss, and Friendship's clasp,
> The boy that sporteth with the old man's staff,
> The baby, and the breast its fingers grasp —
> All that exalts the grounds of happiness,
> All griefs that hallow, and all joys that bless,
> To me are sacred; at my holy shrine
> Love breathes its latest dreams, its earliest hints;
> I turn Life's tasteless waters into wine,
> And flush them through and through with purple tints.
> Wherever Earth is fair, and Heaven looks down,
> I rear my altars, and I wear my crown."

One of his most beautiful poems is that called "Katie," addressed to Kate Goodwin, the "fair Saxon" whom he married. A keen and loving insight into the human soul and tender sympathy for nature are evident throughout Timrod's poems. The touch of refinement in form and expression is characteristic of the poet. A total change from his wonted gentleness appears in his war lyrics; e. g., "Carolina," which has copied the martial tread of "Maryland, My Maryland": —

> "The despot treads thy sacred sands,
> Thy pines give shelter to his bands,
> Thy sons stand by with idle hands,
> Carolina!"

Another poem, "A Cry to Arms," begins: —

> "Ho! woodsmen of the mountain side!
> Ho! dwellers in the vales!
> Leave barn and byre; leave kin and cot,
> Lay by the bloodless spade;" etc.

His pen flames with martial frenzy and roused his state to the utmost endeavor. The poet seems changed into a demon of war. But, after all, this is not his characteristic

note, and the tender human spirit prevails with the coming of peace. The poet died in 1867. His poems, with a memoir by Hayne, were first edited in 1873; subsequently they became more widely known.[1]

John Godfrey Saxe, the facile writer of *vers de société*, the American Praed, was the grandson of a Missisquoi German.[2] Saxe was born at Highgate, Vermont, in 1816, graduated at Middlebury College, and became a prominent journalist and lecturer. In 1859–1860 he was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor of Vermont. Saxe's graceful poetic flights, his dashes of humor and satire, that so frequently animated the pages of the "Knickerbocker Magazine," were highly appreciated in his own generation. Some of his best poems are often chosen for recital in our own time, as "The Rhyme of the Rail," "The Proud Miss McBride," "Ye Pedagogue," and "Would n't You Like to Know?"

A number of the living men of letters are of German descent, prominent among whom is Owen Wister, author of "The Virginian." He is of the family of Caspar Wistar, born near Heidelberg, who came to Philadelphia in 1719. The latter was the grandfather of the noted phy-

[1] A memorial edition was published in 1899 from The Riverside Press, Cambridge, entitled *Poems of Henry Timrod.*

[2] Johann Sachse, the grandfather of the poet, was born at Langensalza, Germany, in 1732. Locating first among the German and Dutch settlers along the Hudson, near Rhinebeck, he joined a small group of Loyalists, who at the outbreak of the Revolution migrated to the extreme northwest of Vermont, settling in 1787 at Highgate. For an account of this group of settlers, see J. P. Noyes, *The Missisquoi Germans or Dutch, Second Report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society* (1907), pp. 31–37. The most complete biographical sketch of the poet Saxe is that of Russell W. Taft, *John Godfrey Saxe, a Biographical Sketch of Vermont's Lawyer, Journalist, Lecturer, and Rhymester.* (Burlington, Vermont, 1900, one hundred copies privately printed.) This material was furnished the writer through the kindness of John W. Saxe, of Boston.

sician, Dr. Caspar Wistar, and the great-great-grandfather of General Isaac Wistar. John Wistar followed his brother to America in 1727; he is the ancestor of the author, Owen Wister. The name was originally Vüster, and the American spellings have been Wister and Wistar.[1]

The influence of German literature in America is a subject which is now being studied with great intensity at several of our universities. Before a final word can be said on the subject, the work of investigation must be continued by the thorough-going method of special monographs. Several excellent bibliographical works[2] have appeared, covering the early period and the magazine literature down to the year 1880. They show accurately what translations of German works were published in the United States within the early period, and what poems and literary works were discussed or printed in the American magazines prior to 1880. In the eighteenth century German literature was practically unknown, and in consequence thought to have no existence. The idyllic poet Gessner, much admired in England,[3] was the only German poet for whom some degree of popularity could be claimed. A translation of "The Death of Abel" appeared in Phil-

[1] Information received by letter from Mr. Owen Wister. Though the novelist's family were descended from German ancestry, later marriages in the family were mostly with other national elements.

[2] F. H. Wilkens, *Early Influence of German Literature in America, 1762–1825, Americana Germanica*, vol. iii, no. 2, p. 155. E. Ziegler Davis, *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741–1810.* (Americana Germanica Press, 1905. Doctor's thesis, University of Pennsylvania.) S. H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1840, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, no. 188, December, 1907. (Doctor's thesis, University of Wisconsin.) M. H. Haertel, *German Literature in American Magazines, 1846–1880, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, no. 263. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1908. Doctor's thesis, University of Wisconsin.)

[3] *The Influence of Salomon Gessner upon English Literature*, by Bertha Reed, *German-American Annals*, vols. iii and iv.

adelphia as early as 1762, and many others succeeded. The appearance also of translations of Goethe's "Werther," J. G. Zimmermann's (physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover) "Solitude," "Strictures on National Pride," and Lavater's "Aphorisms on Man" shows the taste of the time for moralizing and sentimental reading. English and French literature continued to hold sway in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but the study of German literature was destined to make a good start. Beginnings were made when translations by W. Dunlap and C. Smith, in New York City, appeared from the works of Kotzebue and Schiller ("The Robbers"). Quite remarkable was the popularity of Kotzebue's plays. The English translation of Madame de Staël's "De l'Allemagne" in 1814 had a wonderful effect, but an article in 1816[1] still declares all German writers, with the single exception of Gessner, as totally devoid of taste. Yet immediately thereafter, practically with Edward Everett's brilliant review of Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit," in 1817,[2] began the influence of the Göttingen Americans. Their appreciation of German learning, literature, and philosophy gradually kindled enthusiasm among the intellectual leaders of America; bitter controversies arose, but they only served to make Germany's kingship of the mind better known.

The English writers who became dominant in New England, Coleridge and Carlyle, were themselves steeped in German philosophy, Carlyle being an historian of contemporary German literature. When therefore American literature was advancing toward its first period of fruition,

[1] *On the State of Polite Literature in Germany.* Signed S., in the magazine called *Portico.* (Baltimore.) See Goodnight, no. 284.

[2] *North American Review,* vol. iv, p. 217. (45 pp.)

the most important foreign influence was German thought, and it happened at a time "when German philosophy was most metaphysical and German literature most romantic."[1] George Ticknor was the forerunner of Longfellow,[2] Hedge[3] was the pioneer in German metaphysics and poetry, and Everett, Bancroft, and Margaret Fuller each contributed to the wave of German influence. Emerson is the American representative of German idealistic philosophy, and the popularity of the American philosopher in Germany to this day illustrates the kinship.[4] Nathaniel Hawthorne's novels introduce the weirdness and the fervor of German romanticism. Edgar Allan Poe, more clearly than Hawthorne, seems to reveal the influence of a particular author, viz., the versatile E. T. A. Hoffmann,[5] who combines so effectively crass realism with the supernatural. The popularity of Schiller[6] began at an

[1] Cf. Professor Barrett Wendell, *A Literary History of America*, p. 295. (1900.)

[2] The German influence in Longfellow and Margaret Fuller has been treated by Professor Marion D. Learned in lectures unpublished.

[3] The great import of the contributions of F. H. Hedge to the movement has not yet been thoroughly examined.

[4] Cf. Hermann Grimm, *Essays*.

[5] Cf. Gustav Gruener, *Notes on the Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann upon Edgar Allan Poe. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xix, no. 1. (New Series, vol. xii, no. 1, 1904.) Also, Palmer Cobb, *The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann upon the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe. Studies in Philology*, vol. iii, Chapel Hill. (The University Press, 1908.) The evidence brought forward in these investigations is conclusive that Poe borrowed motifs, perhaps also mannerisms from some of Hoffmann's tales. Poe probably could read German, but he could just as well have derived the influence through English or French translations. As a magazine editor and writer he must have been familiar with the German movement.

[6] Cf. *German-American Annals*, vols. iii and iv. The poet Wieland was also popular, and had an admirer in John Quincy Adams (sixth President of the United States), who made a complete translation of Wieland's *Oberon*. Adams's German translation was submitted to Wieland, who "gave the palm of poetry to Sotheby [who had just published an English translation], and

early period of the nineteenth century, and had much to do with bringing German literature into favor; the study of Goethe was long contested, but since then has kept pace with its great development in Germany. The genius of Goethe impressed and inspired the most original of modern American poets, Walt Whitman, who beyond all doubt was deeply interested in German literature.[1]

C. Cartoonists

Artistic illustration in books and magazines, developed at the present day to a high degree of perfection, is only half a century old in this country. It was preceded by comic illustration, which was already established in the sixties. The War of Secession brought to light the classic cartoonist and political caricaturist, the real founder of the art in the United States, Thomas Nast.[2] He was born in 1840, at Landau, in the Bavarian Palatinate, which has furnished such a large proportion of desirable immigrants. His father was a musician, took service on an American man-of-war, and, in 1846, had his family follow him to America. In New York the father eked out a scant existence as a skilled musician and member of the Philharmonic Society. The boy visited evening classes of the Academy of Design, and also saw a good deal of life in the metropolitan city. One day he boldly approached Frank Leslie in his office, with a request to employ him to draw pictures. Leslie, incredulous of the boy's ability,

of fidelity to me." See *Letters of J. Q. Adams to Charles Follen*, quoted by Wilkens, *supra*, p. 44.

[1] Cf. Richard Riethmueller, *Walt Whitman and the Germans. German-American Annals*, New Series, vol. iv, nos. 1–3.

[2] Cf. S. Hartmann, *The History of American Art*, vol. ii, pp. 95–97. The standard biography of Nast is that by Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast, His Period and His Pictures.* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904.)

gave him an assignment the next Sunday morning to draw the ferry at Christopher Street, crowded for the Elysian Fields (beyond Hoboken). Much to Leslie's surprise the boy came back with an excellent drawing, and a great lump rose in the young artist's throat when the owner of the paper told him he could have four dollars a week to draw for "Leslie's Weekly." After a three years' apprenticeship a satirical picture on a police scandal in New York City introduced Nast to "Harper's Weekly," which from that time on became the vehicle of his art.

"The New York Illustrated News," in 1860, sent him to England to witness and illustrate the prize-fight between Heenan and Sayers. From England he went to Italy and took part in the Sicilian War of Liberation under Garibaldi. He sketched the most important scenes of the Italian war for European and American newspapers, and after that returned to New York (1861). Then began Nast's great period. With enthusiasm he defended the cause of the Union in his political cartoons. They became the talk of the day and exerted an enormous influence far beyond the eloquence of any single orator. Very early in the war he led his public to a realization of the necessity of abolition, and with his ardent and fearless pencil he stiffened the Northern mind. "Thomas Nast has been our best recruiting sergeant," said Abraham Lincoln near the close of the Civil War; "his emblematic cartoons have never failed to arouse enthusiasm and patriotism, and have always seemed to come just when these articles were getting scarce." The genius of Thomas Nast was versatile, for he was able, not only to excite the martial spirit and to punish with the force of ridicule, but he could touch also the tenderest emotions of the human heart, as for example in the double page Christmas pic-

ture of 1862–1863, exhibiting on one side the soldier by a wood fire on duty as a sentry, and on the other a woman, his wife, kneeling by the side of a cradle. Similarly effective were the drawings mourning the loss of Lincoln.

His caricatures of Andrew Johnson, "Amphitheatrum Johnsonianum," and "Swinging Round the Circle," created a great stir. Soon after, his pen was used in the interests of reform in New York City. He was perhaps the most relentless foe of the Tammany Ring, and no one man was more instrumental than he in its overthrow. His cartoon, "The Tammany Tiger Loose," in which in an arena a fierce tiger tears to pieces a prostrate female form, the Republic, was the first use of the famous tiger symbol for Tammany. Similarly the first appearance of the Republican elephant came from Thomas Nast in his cartoon "The Third Term Panic." Nast was unapproachable by bribes. He received a salary of five thousand dollars in 1871 from Harper Brothers, for his cartoons against the Ring. He might have had a hundred times as much for discontinuing his crusade against Tammany. History was repeating itself, for one hundred and forty years before, the German printer Zenger had staked his fortunes on reform and liberty of the press in the same city. In the presidential election of 1872 Nast entered fiercely into the contest with some of his most effective cartoons. Louis Napoleon at this time was also made the object of truth-telling ridicule; as, for instance, in the cartoon "Thrown into the Shade," where the shadow of William I of Germany, standing upright, falls against a picture of Napoleon, completely covering it. Nast continued his career as a political force until near the close of his life. His last service was that of a consul,

an appointment by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay. In the words of J. Henry Harper, "Nast was one of the great statesmen of his time. I have never known a man with a surer political insight. He seemed to see approaching events before most men dreamed of them as possible. His work was entirely his own and generally in his own way. He never could bear interference or even suggestion. I never knew him to use an idea that was not his own."[1]

Another caricaturist, subsequently almost as influential as Nast, was Joseph Keppler, the founder of "Puck." He was born in Vienna in 1838, early showed a taste for drawing, and received good training at the Academy of Fine Arts in his native city. Through some caricatures criticizing the foibles of the time his work at an early age gained access to the leading periodicals of Vienna. Quite as remarkable as his precociousness was his versatility. He joined a theatrical troupe as a comedian and traveled with them in the Tyrol and Italy. His ability to restore old paintings gained for him the good will and some extra money in many monasteries on the way. He was a charming companion, an excellent story-teller, and immediately popular wherever he went. Meanwhile his father had settled in the United States, and hearing glowing accounts from America, young Keppler wished to become as prosperous as others. He arrived in St. Louis in 1869, where his father had established himself in the drug business. The son's first venture was to join a theatrical troupe, but finally returning to his early art, he associated himself with a friend and fellow countryman, and founded an illustrated humorous newspaper. On the death of his partner, Joseph Keppler was obliged to sell the paper, and he ac-

[1] Cf. Paine, *Thomas Nast*, p. 578.

cepted an offer from Frank Leslie, whose keen business instinct detected great promise in the young artist. While on the staff of "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper," he formed the acquaintance of "Adolph" (Schwarzmann), the foreman of the printing establishment. With the latter he soon formed a partnership, Keppler & Schwarzmann, which in 1876 commenced the publication of a German illustrated newspaper called "Puck," named after Keppler's first venture in St. Louis. The paper prospered from the first; its colored political cartoons soon became popular, and in 1877 an edition of "Puck" in English was launched.[1] In one of the early numbers appeared a cartoon by Keppler, in which Stewart's Woman's Hotel (admitting no men) was ridiculed. The number was so successful that the printers could hardly supply the demand for it. Upwards of a hundred thousand copies were sold, and the future of the English edition was assured. Through his brilliant conceptions and business capacity Joseph Keppler made the name of his paper familiar from ocean to ocean, and "Puck" has been for a long time the leading humorous paper of America. Mr. Keppler died after a brief illness in 1894. For many years the German, Leopold Schenk, ably assisted Keppler.

There have been other famous cartoonists of German birth or descent, e. g., Eugene Zimmermann, born in Basel, Switzerland, caricaturist of "Judge." He was connected with "Puck" from 1892 to 1895, and since then he has been cartoonist of "Judge," and known as "Zim." He has also illustrated books and articles by Bill Nye and James Whitcomb Riley.[2] There is also Henry Mayer

[1] Cf. *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ii, p. 225.

[2] He is also the author of *This and That about Caricature*, a book for students of comic art. (1892–1893.)

("Hy Mayer"), who was born at Worms on the Rhine, in 1868. He began his career as an artist in Cincinnati in 1887, has lived in New York since 1893, is an illustrator for "Fliegende Blätter" (Munich) and for English and French papers, for "Life," "Judge," "Truth," "Harper's," "Century," "Colliers," "Leslie's," etc. Among his books are "A Trip to Toyland," "The Real New York," "Fantasies in Ha-Ha," etc. There is Carl Emil Schultze ("Bunny"), who was born in Kentucky in 1866, of German descent and education. He introduced the "Foxy Grandpa Series," which was begun in the New York "Herald," January 7, 1900, and continued in the New York "American" from February 17, 1902. The series has been continued under various similar titles up to 1905. Two other cartoonists and newspaper illustrators are Charles Lederer (born in Massachusetts, in 1856), since 1875 cartoonist and illustrator for "Frank Leslie's," "Harper's," New York "World," New York "Herald," and some Chicago papers; and W. H. Schmedtgen (born in Chicago), pioneer in newspaper illustrating in Chicago, head of the art department, Chicago "Record," 1866–1901, field artist in the Spanish-American War, and now on the staff of the Chicago "Record-Herald."

D. Journalism

A province bordering on German-American literature is German-American journalism. It can be classed as an indirect influence on the people of the United States, because of its important effect upon the German population. The great function of German journalism in America, viewed historically, has been to prepare the German population for good citizenship. German newspapers have accelerated the process of assimilation by interesting their

foreign-born readers in American politics, history, and present conditions. Secondly, they have exerted a conservative influence on their patronage by upholding the German language, and increasing their pride in German culture and civilization. The German newspapers are and have been strongly patriotic in all matters concerning national or local politics; they are German or conservative only on questions of language and culture. Herman Ridder, manager of the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," in an interview[1] spoke as follows concerning the German press in the United States: "The daily papers published in the German language are not German papers, but American papers printed in the German language. They represent American interests as completely as the papers printed in the English language. They educate the Germans which come to this country to become good and loyal American citizens. The fact that the 'Staats-Zeitung' has been shut out of Germany several times tells its own story. It goes without saying that the Germans love their Fatherland, but they love the land of their adoption, and their first and last allegiance is to the country in which they have settled and raised families, and where forever every interest they and their children have is centred."

The history of German-American journalism goes back to the period before the Revolution, to the foundation in 1739 by Christoph Sauer[2] of a German paper entitled "Der Hochdeutsch-Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber,

[1] Cf. Herbert Casson, *The Germans in America*, *Munsey's Magazine*, March, 1906, p. 701. Herman Ridder was born in New York in 1851, of German parentage.

[2] The spelling "Sauer" has been used in this book to indicate the pronunciation in two syllables. "Saur" is the form which appears on the title-page of the German Bible and elsewhere. The spelling "Sower" is also seen, though not as frequently as "Sauer" and "Saur."

oder Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich." This Germantown newspaper, "Germantown Zeitung," as it was later called, soon changed from a semi-annual publication to a quarterly, then to a monthly. In 1741 it was enlarged, but no additional charge was made beyond the original three shillings annually. The subscribers originally had the privilege of inserting advertisements gratis. In 1755, in which year the paper was a bi-weekly, advertisers were charged five shillings, but if their wants were satisfied at once, two shillings would be returned to them, or one shilling if their wants were answered on the second insertion. After 1775 the paper appeared weekly, and although it had grown from thirteen by nine inches to three times those dimensions, and the reader now received fifty-two numbers annually, Sauer still kept the old rates; "an honest man should not allow himself to be paid doubly," said he. Occasionally an evidence of slow payments appears, such as that of April, 1759: "Whoever owes for three years or more and otherwise has no reputation must not be offended if he receive a gentle notice." When Gotthard Armbruster, Sauer's former apprentice, established a paper in Philadelphia, the "Germantown Zeitung," May 16, 1748, congratulated him on his new venture, and Sauer besought those who had never paid him not to do likewise unto his new contemporary.[1] To Christoph Sauer belongs the honor of laying the foundation of German-American journalism and of maintaining an exemplary standard of business integrity.

[1] See Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte (Die beiden Christoph Saur in Germantown)*, zweite Auflage (New York, 1886), pp. 115–116. Cf. also Emil Baensch, *The German-American Press, Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1898, and reprint, 1899.

Other German newspapers soon followed in Philadelphia; that of Crellius in 1743, whose successor, Armbruster, founded his semi-weekly in 1744, the first of its kind in America. In 1762 there were five German newspapers in Pennsylvania: two in Philadelphia, one in Germantown, and two (one of them half-German and half-English) in Lancaster, the centre of the Pennsylvania-German farming country. Henry Miller (Mueller) was the founder of the sixth German journal, in 1762, and became the most influential German publisher of the capital city. He was the printer of Congress and the publisher of influential books. The German newspapers were an important instrument in producing the result which George Bancroft points out, that, while the Germans in the colonies constituted but one twelfth of the population, yet they formed one eighth of the Continental Army. A weekly paper, "Der Reading Adler," founded in 1796, and because of its large circulation called, at one time, "The Bible of Berks County," survives to the present day. It is the sixteenth oldest newspaper in America.

It is not the present purpose to furnish a list of the numerous pioneers in German journalism. In the early nineteenth century two German papers in Philadelphia were of a high grade for the time, "Der Amerikanische Korrespondent" (1825–1832), and "Das Philadelphische Magazin, oder Unterhaltender Gesellschafter für die Deutschen in Amerika." Some of the survivors of early foundations, that have since then become giants in circulation and influence, are "Die New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," founded in 1834; "Der Anzeiger des Westens," in St. Louis, 1835; the "Cincinnati Volksblatt," in 1836. There were strong men among the political refugees between 1818 and 1848 prominent in journalistic work, as

Friedrich Münch (Missouri), J. A. Wagener (Charleston, South Carolina), H. A. Rattermann (Cincinnati). It must be conceded, however, that the great progress in German journalism in the United States came with the advent of the political refugees of 1848, and immediately thereafter. A large number of new journals were founded by these "forty-eighters," and as a rule they commanded a better German style and furnished a greater amount of desirable information in politics and literature. The presumption of the "forty-eighters" in many cases offended the older class (of 1818–1848), and a journalistic warfare arose between the two parties ("die Grauen" and "die Grünen"). The result, however, was favorable to the cause of journalism, and the Grays and the Greens, as explained before, soon united in the great struggle against secession and slavery. The following names of "forty-eighters" who became influential in the new epoch of journalism will serve to bring into memory many more: Carl Schurz, F. R. Hassaurek, Carl Heinzen, Friedrich Hecker, Christopher Esselen (editor of "Atlantis"), Lorenz Brentano, Theodor Olshausen, Hermann Raster, Friedrich Kapp, Franz Sigel, Oswald Ottendorfer, Wilhelm Rapp, Kaspar Beetz, Friedrich Lexow (founder of "Belletristisches Journal," New York), Carl Dilthey, Emil Praetorius, F. Raine, H. Börnstein, C. L. Bernays, Karl D. A. Douai, Emil Rothe, Eduard Leyh, and many others. The training and ability of the "forty-eighters" brought German journalism abreast with that in the English language; in fact, many of the German-American group also did able work for the English-American papers, as, for instance, Carl Schurz, and before him, Carl Follen and Francis Lieber. The "forty-eighters" were succeeded by later generations of well-trained recruits from Germany and German-speak-

ing countries, and the higher standards of journalism once established were by them maintained.

Every American city or town with a large German population possesses one or more German newspapers. In New York City there are twelve or more German journals, the oldest and best, known over all the land, being the daily paper, "Die New Yorker Staats-Zeitung." The Illinois "Staats-Zeitung" has nearly as large a circulation, and the Milwaukee "Germania" claims the largest circulation of all. The Milwaukee "Herold" comes not far behind. Philadelphia has its "Demokrat"; Baltimore its "Correspondent"; Cincinnati its "Volksblatt"; St. Louis has two papers of long standing and excellent historical record, "Die Westliche Post" and "Der Anzeiger des Westens."[1] A recent foundation, with a definite purpose expressed in its title, is "Der Deutsche Vorkämpfer, Monatsschrift für deutsche Kultur in Amerika." This monthly, founded by Louis Viereck, is in its third year, and circulates widely in Germany and America, with the definite aim of better acquaintance between the two countries, and the awakening of German-Americans to the consciousness of the value of German "Kulturarbeit."

It is interesting to note the reports of the Twelfth Census (1900) on the newspapers in foreign languages. We find there were 613 German newspapers as compared with 17,194 English journals in the United States. The language with the next largest representation after the Ger-

[1] For a good account of German journalism up to 1885, see Udo Brachvogel, *Die deutsche Presse in den Vereinigten Staaten*, published in A. Tenner's monograph, *Amerika*. (Berlin and New York, 1886.) Cf. also statistics of German newspapers furnished in Henoch, *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande*. (Berlin, 1904.) The latter's lists, however, are not complete. The condition of things, for instance, in Wisconsin is misrepresented. German newspapers there are more numerous, on a rough count numbering at least seventy. Cf. *Germania-Abend Post*, Milwaukee, May 17, 1904, editorial.

man is the Scandinavian, with 115. The German papers declined in numbers after 1890, owing to the decreasing immigration from Germany. The following table will give the figures of the last three censuses for newspapers in languages which have the largest representation: —

LANGUAGE	*Number of Publications*		
	1900	1890	1880
English	17,194	13,848	10,515
German	613	727	641
Scandinavian	115	112	49
Spanish	39	28	26
Italian	35	13	4
Polish	33	18	2
Bohemian	28	22	13
French	27	40	41
Totals[1]	18,226	14,901	11,314

Expressed in percentages of the total number of newspapers published in the country, those published in the English language number 94.3 per cent of the whole, the German 3.4 per cent, the Scandinavian 0.6 per cent, the Spanish, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, and French, each 0.2 per cent of the whole. The table shows a decrease in the number of newspapers for each people whose immigration to the United States has decreased in the corresponding decade, except in the case of the Scandinavians, who, although their immigration decreased in numbers within the last enumerated decade, published an increased number of journals and newspapers in their own language. The Germans hold a better average than the Scandinavians, however, if the number of publications be compared to the number of residents. On this basis there is one

[1] In the table the totals represent a large number of additional languages not put down here. Cf. *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), vol. ix, p. 1048, table xxi.

German journal to every 4213 Germans in the country; there is one Scandinavian journal to every 9255 Scandinavians; the general average throughout the United States is one journal to every 4169 inhabitants. Only the French of the foreign groups show a better average than the Germans, with one journal to every 3366 Frenchmen in the United States.[1]

We learn from these statistics the interesting fact that it takes a continuous immigration from a foreign country to support the newspapers in the foreign language, the tendency being for succeeding generations to prefer the newspapers printed in the native language. In the enumerations above no accurate test is made of the reading propensities of the various races, because the circulation of the newspapers is not considered. A test of the amount of newspaper reading would have to include a consideration of the size and influence of each newspaper. The German papers are next to the American, not only in numbers, but also in circulation.

In a consideration of the influence of the German element on American journalism, we should not omit the mention of a large number of men of German birth who have been prominent in the American journalistic work done in the English language. The name of Carl Schurz has already been noticed. When he retired from public life and made his residence in New York City, he became one of the editors of the New York "Evening Post," and in conjunction with Mr. E. L. Godkin and Mr. Horace White, started that paper on a new and brilliant career. He began in July, 1881, and retained the position until December 9, 1883. What astounded Mr. Schurz's colleagues and friends was his mastery of English. The late

[1] Cf. *Census* (1900), vol. ix, p. 1049.

Professor Price, of Columbia University, professor of English literature and a most competent judge, said that Mr. Schurz's mastery of English was the most astonishing intellectual feat that he had ever known. "In his spoken and written discourses, idioms of the English language seemed native to him — his crisp pronunciation, his flexible handling of phrase, and instinctive building-up of sentence and climax made listening to him a blending of delight and wonder." "Mr. Schurz could in either tongue be playful, or powerfully argue, soar, or thunder, and do it with the facility and grace of one to the vernacular born."[1] The earliest great representative of the German blood in American journalism was Peter Zenger, founder of the first independent newspaper in the United States, the New York "Weekly Journal," in 1733, an opposition paper to the New York "Gazette," the organ of the aristocracy.[2] He made the first bold move toward establishing that independence of the press in America which has been the pride of the nation. In fact the trial which followed upon his imprisonment, and in which Andrew Hamilton made his historical defense of Zenger, established the liberty of the press for England and America.

One of the famous newspaper correspondents of the Civil War was Henry Villard (the name was changed from Hilgard). He was born in Bavaria and came to this country at the age of eighteen with no resources, not even that of knowing the English language. Such were his energy and ability, however, that he quickly mastered all the difficulties of the foreign idiom, became acquainted with most of the leading spirits of his time in this country and abroad, and was one of the famous correspondents during the Civil

[1] *The Evening Post*, New York, May 14, 1906 (editorial).

[2] Cf. Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 105–110.

War.[1] As war correspondent for the New York "Herald" and the New York "Tribune," he was present at the battles of Bull Run, Shiloh, Perryville, Fredericksburg, and Chattanooga, and at the attack on the forts at Charleston by the fleet of monitors. Before the war period he had been in Illinois in close contact with Lincoln and Douglas. He represented the New York "Staats-Zeitung" at four of the meetings in the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates. His memoirs, because they picture events in a more judicial manner than is commonly the case with newspaper correspondents, assume an important place among historical records.

Other war correspondents and journalist travelers are C. S. Diehl, assistant general manager of the Associated Press, and reporter of Indian wars; Fred W. Unger, reporter of the Boer War, and W. E. Geil, a traveler of over one hundred and twenty thousand miles in 1901 in Africa and elsewhere.

The greatest newspaper owner of German blood is Adolph S. Ochs, born in Cincinnati, in 1858, whose parents were both born in Germany. He was a printer in 1873, and five years later published the Chattanooga "Times," of which he is still proprietor. In 1896 he became the publisher and principal owner of the New York "Times"; in 1901, publisher and proprietor of the Philadelphia "Times," and in 1902, the publisher and principal owner of the Philadelphia "Public Ledger." William Henry Seif has been the president and manager of the Pittsburg "Times" since 1896; William Frisch, managing editor of the Baltimore "American" since 1881.

[1] Cf. *Memoirs of Henry Villard, journalist and financier, 1835–1900.* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904, two volumes.) He also became one of the foremost promoters of railway enterprises in the Far West. Cf. Volume I, Chapter XV, p. 504.

He was born in Austria in 1854. Thomas C. Zimmerman is president of the Reading Times Publishing Company. The Drexels of Philadelphia, capitalists, founders of the Drexel Institute, have long been owners of Philadelphia newspapers. Paul Carus, born in Ilsenburg, Germany, author of many philosophical works, is the editor of "The Open Court" and "The Monist" of Chicago. Louis Klopsch, born in Germany, has been the editor and proprietor of "The Christian Herald" from 1892, and since then through his paper has raised and distributed over $2,500,000 in international charities. Victor L. Berger, editor of the Milwaukee Daily "Vorwärts," has been a leader in the organization of the Social Democratic Party in America. Through his leadership eighteen socialists, mostly Germans, are now holding public office in Wisconsin. He is perhaps the ablest socialist leader in the United States. Another large owner of newspapers is Hermann Henry Kohlsaat[1] (born in Illinois, in 1853). He was part owner of the Chicago "Inter-Ocean," 1891–1893; editor and publisher of the Chicago "Times-Herald" in 1894, which was amalgamated with the Chicago "Record" in 1902, becoming the Chicago "Record-Herald," the leading daily of Chicago.

Summarizing very briefly the results of the present chapter, we have found that the German theatre in New York has stood for better principles in dramatic art than obtained in most contemporary American theatres, and

[1] Replying to the writer's inquiry, Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat stated that his father came to this country from Germany, after serving in the army, between 1825 and 1830. His mother, of Scotch parentage, came to America in 1819. "If I were running for office," wrote Mr. Kohlsaat, "I would claim to be a German on the North Side of Chicago and a Scotchman on the far South Side. The fact of the matter is, I am an American from the top of my head to the soles of my feet."

that favorable influences can be traced therefrom. The German element has created a literature of historical interest in the German language and in German dialects. It is also well represented among American men of letters, such as Bayard Taylor, Carl Nordhoff, Joaquin Miller, Henry Timrod, John Godfrey Saxe, and Owen Wister. The literature of Germany has been of great influence upon American literature during its classic period. Not only scholars, as Ticknor, Everett, Bancroft, Motley, etc., but poets and men of letters, as Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, Edgar Allan Poe, and Walt Whitman, were influenced by German poetry and philosophy. Germans introduced caricature into America, Thomas Nast being the great pioneer, and Joseph Keppler the founder of the leading comic paper of the United States. German journalism stands next in amount and influence to that in the English language, and many men of German blood are engaged prominently in American journalism as editors or owners of American newspapers.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT

(1) The joy of living : German festivals, agricultural fairs, frolics, open-air celebrations ; singing-societies ; Christmas and Easter celebrations ; gifts, birthdays, etc. — (2) Care of the body : Gymnastics (Turnerei) ; Vater Jahn's influence in America through Follen, Lieber, etc.; " Turnvereine " ; clashes between Turners and Know-nothings ; the German element in American sports; the Germans as medical practitioners and druggists raise the standard of health. — (3) The social life of the Germans : musical, gymnastic, military, and social organizations.— (4) Religious influences. — (5) German philanthropists. — (6) German-American women. — (7) German traits : honesty, persistence, industry, economy ; love of labor; sense of duty; simple life; love of home ; individualism, idealism. — Summary.

In the preceding two chapters a great and lasting social influence of the German element was considered, that which resulted from their cultivation of music in America, and their participation in the development of the fine arts and literature in this country. They have diverted men's minds from materialistic aims, and emphasized the more beautiful aspects of life.

Inasmuch as German music, art, and literature derive their power from the pure spring of idealism, they elevate the human mind, broaden and deepen character, assign new and higher values to life, and therefore constitute not only a social but a moral influence. German culture has shaken the young American giant out of his stupor of self-absorption, and has awakened in him a soul capable of thinking the thoughts and thrilling to the emotions of all humanity.

Though the Germans in the United States have striven earnestly to maintain their language against severe handicaps, they have been far more tenacious of their social customs and principles of living. The Germans being so large a formative element of the American nation, their ways have frequently impressed themselves upon the people and have resulted in permanent good. A striking illustration of this is an influence potent and useful, which might be described in the words: —

(1) The joy of living

In taking pleasure after toil, in relaxing after tension, the German has furnished an example to the busy American, who takes even his pleasures strenuously. The German in his own country gives himself a good amount of leisure and healthful pleasure, and this trait enables him to keep his mind and body fresh, to safeguard against over-exertion, and to do better work for a longer time. But also as a corrective of too stern and austere a view of life, the German "joy of living" has exerted a beneficent influence. The German student song which contains a maxim so frequently attributed to Luther —

"Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebelang" —

is typical of a theory of life, which Germans have put into practice wherever they have settled in large numbers. It is true that the early German sectarians of Pennsylvania were just as rigorous in their discipline as other religious orders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet the anchorites of Ephrata chanted in mixed choruses and the Moravians of Bethlehem cultivated vocal and instrumental music with great success from the beginning of their history. The agricultural conditions in Pennsylvania

were better than in New England. The garden-like beauty of the Pennsylvania fields, the sweet odor of rich harvests, made the "vale of tears" a tolerable abiding-place, and in succeeding generations changed the old austerity of manner. The German pietist[1] is not pessimistic; he is content with the rulings of Providence, and his tranquil optimism (*Zufriedenheit*) beams from his face and has impressed itself on the smiling landscape that his labors have produced.

The Pennsylvania-Germans naturally grew more fond of merrymaking as their material prosperity increased, and as the country became more thickly settled. Rural festivities abounded, in which American neighborliness and the frontier's coöperative spirit were spiced with the mirth of the German harvest festival. The idea of our annual fair, the adaptation of the German "Jahrmarkt" or "Messe," was started by the settlers of Germantown only a short time after their arrival in the New World. This soon developed into the agricultural county fairs, with exhibitions of sleek stock and all manner of farm products, competitions for prizes, outdoor sports, and pastimes. They are still the popular event of the year in the farming counties of Pennsylvania and of most other

[1] Germany's greatest hymn-writer, Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676), gives the most adequate expression in verse of the spirit of pietism. His optimism rings out in the poem: —

"Die Welt ist mir ein Lachen,
Mit ihrem grossen Zorn."

He likewise gives full expression to the joy of living, e. g., in the poem, "Die Lerche schwingt sich in die Luft," which closes: —

"Ich selbsten kann und mag nicht ruhn
Des grossen Gottes grosses Thun
Erweckt mir alle Sinnen:
Ich singe mit wenn alles singt,
Und lasse, was dem Höchsten klingt
Aus meinem Herzen rinnen."

agricultural states. The county fair went with the Pennsylvania-German wherever he wandered, and was adopted at one time or another all over the country, with local variations.

Typical of the sports connected with such events in the early day was the foot-race between Conrad Weiser and the Indian of the Mohawk tribe in Schoharie County, New York.[1] Amusing are the accounts of occasional clashes between the German and the Irish element on festival days. Kercheval, the historian of the Valley of Virginia, tells us of such an event at Winchester, Virginia, where the Germans caricatured the Irishmen's parade on St. Patrick's Day, and the Irish retaliated on St. Michael's Day with a similar jest on the Germans.[2] Brawls and broken heads frequently resulted, but the number of the wounded is of very little importance to the historian, in comparison with the fundamental fact that there existed a kinship between the Teuton and Celt in America in so far as they both possessed an unsubdued disposition to merrymaking, offsetting Puritanic and Calvinistic abstinence.

Less elaborate than the county fairs were the coöperative gatherings in and out of doors, husking-frolics, quilting-bees, apple-butter cookings, and fruit-preserving parties, when the whole neighborhood worked and played together. The young met, made music and danced, wooed and were merry. Another coöperative function was the killing of hogs, providing meat for the winter, — a good old German custom immortalized in Uhland's poem: —

> "Wir haben heut nach altem Brauch
> Ein Schweinchen abgeschlachtet."

[1] Cf. Volume I, Chapter III, p. 95.
[2] Cf. Volume I, Chapter VII, p. 199.

Family events, births, deaths, and marriages, were the occasions of social gatherings or festivity. No doubt the feasting was sometimes carried to excess, for the Lutheran patriarch, Mühlenberg, complains now and then of the extravagance at weddings and funerals.[1] To the German at home, hospitality was inseparable from an offering of refreshing food and drink,[2] and the hardships of travel made the custom all the more desirable in America.

In the nineteenth century, as the German immigration increased and became more representative of all classes, festivals on the outskirts of cities became frequent. The occasion would be the celebration of some national event, the anniversary of the birth or death of a great poet (as of Schiller in 1859), a Turner- or Sängerfest, with guests invited from other cities, near by or distant. A typical celebration of this kind was the Cincinnati Sängerfest of

[1] Mittelberger, in his *Journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750*, etc., pp. 57 ff., gives a graphic account of the funeral customs: "When some one has died, where people live far from one another, the time appointed for the funeral is always indicated only to the four nearest neighbors; each of these in his turn notifies his own nearest neighbor. In this manner such an invitation to a funeral is made known more than fifty English miles around in twenty-four hours. If it is possible, one or more persons from each house appear on horseback at the appointed time to attend the funeral. While the people are coming in, good cake, cut into pieces, is handed around on a large tin platter to those present; each person receives then in a goblet a hot West India rum punch, into which lemon, sugar, and juniper berries are put, which give it a delicious taste. After this, hot and sweetened cider is served. This custom at the funeral assemblies in America is just the same as that at the wedding gatherings in Europe. The assembled people number from one hundred to five hundred persons on horseback. They ride behind in silence accompanying the dead body to the general burial-place, or, where that is too far away, the deceased is buried in his own field."

[2] We are told on the authority of Dr. Rush that the Pennsylvania-Germans were not addicted to drunkenness. At all events they did not surpass their Irish, Scotch or English contemporaries in New England and Virginia. The colonial habit was to drink deeply. Cf. Alice Morse Earle, *The Customs and Fashions of Old New England*.

1849, the first meeting of the united singing-societies of the West. The effect of this event on the native population can be measured by the account in the "Cincinnati Gazette," on the following day.[1] "The German population of our city had a celebration on Sabbath last on Longworth's farm, on Bald Hill, above Columbia, about six miles from the city; the attendance was very large. At noon there were at least two thousand people on the ground. The exercises were music, speaking, and feasting. A sumptuous dinner was served, and native wine flowed freely. The music on the high hill in the midst of a pleasant grove, by nearly two hundred singers, was grand beyond our power of description. Enjoyment seemed to be the object of all, and about the whole assembly there was an air which spoke plainly as words: —

> Let us be young again
> And o'er the grassy plain
> Gambol like children,
> And give care the slip.

We do not think the Sabbath under all circumstances a proper day for festivals of this character, but we think they should at proper times be much more frequent than they now are. Americans do not allow themselves enjoyment enough of this kind.

> In our too plodding homes, we ponder over tomes,
> Ledger and day-book, till we quite forget
> That there are fields and bowers and river-banks and flowers.
> And that we owe our languid limbs a debt:
> A debt most sweet to pay — a needful holiday —
> A brain-refreshing truce, 'mid intellectual strife,
> That, fought too keenly out, impairs the mortal life.

Bald Hill is an advantageous spot for the holding of such holidays. It is easy of access, and on its summit are handsome groves and pleasant walks, from which is afforded

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xi, pp. 58–59.

a wide prospect, taking in several villages, a long stretch of the Ohio, and many enchanting views of the Miami River scenery." Though city editors do not as easily drop into verse at the present day, the accounts they write of the great Sängerfeste of our later period are equally glowing and appreciative, an indication of favorable public opinion.

Noteworthy also is the support provided by the German element when a city undertakes a celebration, carnival, or mardi-gras on a large scale. Indeed it seems as if a large celebration cannot be made a complete success without the enthusiastic coöperation of the Germans. All nativistic objections are cast aside, a large German representation appears on the committee[1] of arrangements, and the singing of the German Männerchöre usually provides one of the most enjoyable events on the programme. The Germans have thus not alone created festivals in which their own people are concerned, but, wherever possible, they have lent a helping hand in ringing the bells of mirth.

The one celebration, now our grandest and sweetest of the year, into which the Germans have infused soul and beauty, is Christmas. They changed its character from that of solemnity to joy, and impressed upon it the mood of peace and good will to men. They introduced the Christmas-tree into this country, and made it a universal emblem. They developed the custom of giving Christmas gifts, beginning with gifts to children. The fir-tree decorated with candles, toys, and sweetmeats, as an emblem of Christmas joys, was seen in Germany as

[1] For example, the recent celebration in Baltimore, in commemoration of the rebuilding of the city after the great fire of 1904, was managed by Frank Hoen (of German parentage), chairman of the committee in charge. The Germans contributed prominently, not as an element, but as citizens.

early as the end of the sixteenth century, when it began to displace the blossoming shrub, still used in many countries, as the holly and mistletoe in England. However, the Christmas-tree was not in common use in Germany until the end of the eighteenth century, when German poets cast a halo about it.[1] Its common acceptance began in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, after which it took possession of the whole Christian world with unprecedented rapidity. There is a beautiful tradition that the first Christmas-trees seen in America decorated with candles and sweets were used by the Hessian soldiers celebrating their Christmas at Trenton, December 26, 1776. The American conquerors in their night attack felt the warmth and sniffed the odor of the illuminated fir-tree for the first time, and themselves were taken by surprise and conquered by the homelike sweetness of a German Christmas.[2]

The celebration of Christmas in the thoroughgoing manner to which we are now accustomed was a later development. On questioning an older generation, we learn that until about the middle of the nineteenth century, probably through French influence, the great festival in America was New Year's Day, as it is still in France. Not until the period of German educational and literary influences, and then the large German immigrations after 1848, came the lasting social influence which made Christmas instead of New Year's our principal holiday. Thomas Nast was the first to introduce pictures of Santa Claus, in "Harper's Weekly," with the adjuncts of Christmas-tree, reindeer and sleigh, sackfuls of toys, the

[1] Cf. A. Tille, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Weihnacht.* (Leipzig, 1893.)

[2] It is probable that the tradition is not well founded, since 1776 is very early for the Christmas-tree, even in Germany. In the nineteenth century war-vessels frequently carried the Christmas-tree custom to distant points.

house-chimney, and the stockings hung at the fireplace. Then came gift-giving, at first to children, and the beautiful effect in the home of expectation and fulfillment, equally enjoyable to parent and child. German genius, which regards nothing too humble or lowly,[1] studied the child, gave it a Christmas and a kindergarten, invented toys of such clever construction as to stimulate the intellect, the imagination, and the emotions of the young, and increase their capacity of growth. Most of the toys of the more fascinating and educational variety are German inventions, the Noah's arks, the dolls that open and close their eyes, those with movable limbs and a squeal if held too much under the thumb, the horses of every conceivable size and breed, attached or unattached to their burdens, the brightly costumed cavalry and infantrymen, and the artillery with pea cannon-balls, the linen picture-books that will not tear (*unzerreissbare Bilderbücher*), the men-of-war with vigorous spring propellers, the steam-cars that circle again and again on their own railway tracks, and last but not least the "Teddy Bears."[2] These toys that have given us delight come from busy little German towns highly specialized in the toy industry, as Sonneberg, Waltershausen, Nauendorf, Limbach, and others in the Thuringian Mountains, some others in the Black Forest and the Bavarian Alps, and the larger cities of Naumburg a/S, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, and Berlin. Many a commercial house in our seaboard cities has made a fortune by the importation of German toys.

If traced to their origins, Christmas and Easter cards will be found to be German immigrants. No one in the

[1] *Die Ehrfurcht vor dem Unbedeutenden* is a maxim used by Grimm.

[2] The inventor and manufacturer of the "Teddy Bear" is Mrs. Margarete Steiff of Giengen, in Würtemberg (German Empire). Cf. *Toys and Novelties* (Sporting Goods Publishing Co., St. Louis), August, 1909.

land, except he be illiterate, has escaped the pleasing effect of the modern illustrated postal card. In all probability that card was designed and printed in Germany. Attempts have been made to develop the art in this country, but skilled labor in art work is too rare and expensive to insure successful competition with the German rivals. The pioneer in the introduction of the view cards was the Rotograph Company of New York, at first a branch of the Neue Photographische Gesellschaft in Berlin. The sales of the Rotograph Company in 1907 amounted to 46,500,000 assorted postal cards, most of which were view cards.[1] The year named did not make the highest record, and the figure given represents the distribution of only one company. The success of the industry is not surprising in an age when friends wish to keep mindful of one another, yet are too busy to write or read long letters.

German humor has contributed to the joy of living, yet as a social influence it has been directed not alone against the people who take life too seriously, but against those that take themselves too seriously. A nation grows great by self-criticism, a habit which is not that of the frontier or of colonies, but belongs to older civilizations. Satire is the latest stage of literary development. The German caricaturists[2] have taught the native American how to laugh at himself, "to see ourselves as others see us." Nast and Keppler and their numerous following have pointed the finger of derision at our abuses; they have protected the American people against the danger of chauvinism or spread-eagleism.

[1] Statement made in a letter to the author from the Rotograph Company, July 23, 1908.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Chapter VII. It was there shown that Nast was the pioneer among caricaturists, and that Keppler was the founder of *Puck*, the leading comic paper. Zimmermann has been one of the leading cartoonists of *Judge*.

(2) *Care of the body*

With all his idealism the German takes good care of his physical welfare, is fond of food and drink, and, wherever he has gone, has supplied himself abundantly with both. The Pennsylvania-German farmer may be taken as an illustration. The woman of his choice, says Rush, was domestic, and skillful in preparing for the table what the farm provided. Later immigrations brought German physicians and druggists in great numbers, who looked to the health not only of their own people, but raised the standard of medical practice throughout the country. Outdoor sports came with periods when the leisure class had grown in numbers, and they were mostly brought from England. Indoor gymnastics, however, were introduced by Germans.

In Germany gymnastic exercises (Turnerei) were introduced in the first quarter of the nineteenth century by the patriot Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. His ideal was to recreate in Prussia the gigantic statures of the ancient Germans, as Tacitus had described them. In body and in mind he wished to see men vigorous and independent.

> "Frisch, fröhlich und frei,
> Die mutigen Söhne der Turnerei,"[1]

expressed the spirit which the young men upheld whom Turnvater Jahn gathered about him. The movement which the founder had started in 1811 in the Hasenheide, near Berlin, and which spread rapidly over all of Germany, came to a sudden end in 1819, when the reactionary governments in Germany greatly feared the political bearing of the Turner foundation. In consequence, the popular Jahn, the great advocate of freedom and healthful growth, was accused of demagoguery and thrown into

[1] A quotation from Follen's *Das grosse Lied*.

prison. On being released he was checkmated for the future by being kept under espionage.[1]

But there were disciples of Jahn to spread his principles abroad, three of whom, exiles from their Fatherland, Carl Beck, Carl Follen, and Francis Lieber, were destined to play important rôles in the land of liberty beyond the seas. Beck and Follen arrived together on Christmas Day in 1824. Beck was appointed teacher of Latin at the Round Hill School,[2] in Northampton, Massachusetts, and under his direction there was erected at once the Round Hill Gymnasium, after the model of the school established by Turnvater Jahn.[3] Beck's translation into English of Jahn's "Deutsche Turnkunst" for American students aided the cause. Carl Follen, after teaching in the Round Hill School a short time, was called to Harvard College, and there, supported by an appeal of the medical professors of Harvard, he also, in May of 1826, organized a gymnasium after the model of Jahn. Francis Lieber, who arrived in 1827, likewise began his career in America as a disciple of Jahn. His famous swimming-school in Boston has been mentioned in another chapter.[4] Dr. J. C. Warren, professor in the Harvard Medical School and founder, in 1825, of the Tremont Gymnasium in Boston, had made a strong effort to secure Jahn as director of the new institution. Sufficient funds were not available,

[1] Jahn did not regain unrestricted freedom until the accession of Frederick William IV (1840). In 1842 the Turnerei was revived by a cabinet order of the King of Prussia, and Massmann was called from Munich as the director of Prussian gymnastics at Berlin.

[2] Founded in 1823 by George Bancroft and J. G. Cogswell. See *ante*, Chapter v.

[3] Cf. M. D. Learned, *The German American Turner Lyric*, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Annual Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1894–1896, pp. 88 ff.

[4] *Ante*, Chapter v.

however, and the call as director of the Tremont Gymnasium went to Dr. Lieber, "a gentleman of education and in other respects well suited to take the superintendence of a public gymnasium." Thus the beginnings of gymnastic work in America were made by Germans.

Though the Jahn system of physical exercises had accomplished the pioneer work of establishing gymnastics as a part of a liberal education, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that German Turnerei began to exert an important social influence among the middle classes. As in music and journalism, so in the matter of physical training, the refugees of 1848 succeeded in impressing their stamp. Some of their born leaders, who had played prominent rôles in the revolution in Baden, became central figures in the formation of Turner organizations. Such was Hecker,[1] who became actively engaged in the formation of a Turnverein in Cincinnati. Though many Turners had lived in that part of the country before, they had never organized. On New Year's Day, 1850, the first Turner hall of America was dedicated, in the city of Cincinnati. In the mean time organization had been going on in other places, principally in Eastern cities. On October 5, 1850, delegates of the Turnvereine of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston met in Philadelphia to found a union of gymnastic societies. After the plan was carried into effect (Die Vereinigten Turnvereine Nordamerikas), Cincinnati joined the association. There were also certain political ideas of a social-democratic nature, which the union pledged itself to represent, and a newspaper ("Turnerzeitung") was established as the represent-

[1] Friedrich Carl Franz Hecker (1811–1881) and Gustav von Struve were the leaders of the insurrection in Baden, in 1848. Hecker came to America in 1849; Struve followed two years later, and also became an active Turner. Both were subsequently officers in the Civil War.

ative organ. The principal functions of the association, however, were the social and gymnastic; the main fact about their politics was that they joined the Free-Soil party and united in opposition against nativism and Know-nothingism.

The growth of the Turnerbund was very rapid. In 1853 it embraced sixty societies; the territory in which they were located was divided into five districts, New York, Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans. An annual gymnastic festival was one of the features of the organization, the place of meeting changing from year to year. In 1859, there were seventy-one societies in the West, with forty-five hundred members; twenty societies in the East, with eighteen hundred members; and sixty-one other independent Turnvereine, not belonging to the Turnerbund, including three thousand members.[1] After the Civil War there was a reunion of all Turnvereine of

[1] In 1860 the Eastern and Western Turnvereine, which before had separated, united again, and excluded the Southern societies. Political differences in previous years had been brought into the annual meetings of the society, and while in the first years they had come to agreement on resolutions against Know-nothingism and prohibition agitation, the question of slavery caused a breach between North and South, the Northern associations remaining radical in their position against slavery, the Southern, though not unanimous in favor of slavery, adhering to the position taken by their states. The Turners of the North far outnumbered those of the South. They enlisted in the war at once. The Twentieth New York Regiment (Turner Rifles), for instance, consisted only of Germans and numbered twelve hundred men, who left New York, June 13, 1861, under Colonel Max Weber. The work of the Turner Society in St. Louis in their rescue of the St. Louis Arsenal has been mentioned, in Volume I, Chapter XVI. The Cincinnati Turners constituted a large part of the Ninth Ohio Regiment. Thirty-one hundred and forty-eight members of the Turnerbund, or fifty per cent of the total membership, are unmistakably recorded as having taken part in the war against secession. Many others were not put on record. Cf. Schem, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon*, vol. xi, p. 47. Another interesting example of the influence of the Turnerbund was its aid in the foundation of New Ulm, Minnesota. Cf. Volume I, Chapter XV.

the East and West, including most of the independent organizations. New York was again chosen as the centre and a Turnzeitung was established. A new feature, which was designed to advance the cultivation of gymnastics, was the foundation of a seminary for the training of teachers of the art. The Turnlehrerseminar was also located in New York City, though at the present time the centre of the whole movement is located in the West, Milwaukee being the seat of a flourishing school. In 1872 the Turnerbund had over twelve thousand members, with over fifty-six hundred active gymnasts. One hundred and thirty-two societies had schools of gymnastics for boys, and eighteen societies had schools for girls. The property in their halls and libraries amounted to nearly one million dollars, and their purposes were social, educational, and charitable. One of the early successes of the Turners was the introduction of gymnastics at the Naval Academy and in the public schools at Cleveland (in the seventies). Trained teachers of the Lehrerseminare were much in demand in the public and private schools of the country, as soon as the public began to recognize the hygienic value of gymnastic exercises.

Intimately associated with the Turnvereine were the various military societies and fire-engine companies that were organized by the Germans in part to fulfill a patriotic or civic duty, in part to effect political and social coöperation. In Cincinnati, for instance, there were a number of military companies, the Jackson Guards, commanded by General August Moor; the Lafayette Guards, under Captain H. Roedter; several militia companies of sharpshooters and one of Jägers. The latter, under Captain Heckel, was a small company of young men with fine physiques and flashing uniforms. The native population at that time resented the coming-in of foreigners, and their animosity

frequently broke forth in violence at the polls or on the streets. In fact the organization of so many militia companies by the foreign element was largely a defensive measure against the Know-nothings. Local history reports[1] that one day in the year 1843 the Jäger company had gone out for drill and shooting-practice. On their return to town they were molested by a crowd of boys and loafers, who followed them to their quarters in Front Street. There the company, when commanded to face about, according to their military custom before dismissal, were pelted by the crowd with dirt and stones. With a few strokes of their flat swords the soldiers drove away the disturbers, but the latter soon returned in increased numbers. The headquarters of the Jägers were stoned, so that not a single pane of glass remained whole, while the mob surged against the door of the building. The soldiers fired a few shots into the air to scare the crowd away, but this was considered a violation of the law. The constable was brought forward, armed with a club, and the door was forced open for him. As he entered, his club was struck from his hand by one of the Jägers. The sight of the bleeding hand might have caused a great deal of bloodshed, had it not been for the presence of mind displayed by the mayor of Cincinnati, an Englishman, named Davis, who proclaimed aloud that he would place the whole company of Jägers under arrest, and hold all responsible who had infringed against the law. At the head of the captive Jägers he then marched on to the county prison. The next day the German militiamen were taken before the court amid extraordinary excitement throughout the city. The Germans were not without

[1] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, pp. 250–253, "Eine Herrmannsschlacht in Cincinnati." Nach den Erzählungen eines Augenzeugens.

friends, for a good part of the remaining population, the English and Irish, were on their side, and several excellent lawyers, knowing the value of the German vote, pleaded for them with much eloquence. The Jägers were declared "not guilty," but the mob outside shouted for vengeance, and pushed into the court-house ready to do violence to the prisoners. Then it was that Captain Heinrich Roedter (of the Lafayette Guards) appeared on the stairs of the court-house, accompanied by cheering Germans and other foreigners, and came to the rescue of the prisoners in the court. The Germans, better drilled, gathered quickly around the Jägers, and, with a shout, went at the mob with fists and clubs, clearing a passage. Bricks and missiles disturbed them not until they had safely conducted their people home. Wounds and injured feelings occurred on either side, but there is no record of bloodshed except that of the hand of the constable, which was duly atoned for by a fine at the police court. This so-called "Hermannsschlacht" undoubtedly had a good effect for the foreigners; in the quaint German of a contemporary we are told, "Von der Zeit an, behävten sich die Loafers so ziemlich."

Another collision took place at Covington, Kentucky, opposite Cincinnati, between the mob and the Turners, who were about to return to Cincinnati after a Turnerfest. It was during the Know-nothing movement of 1855. The Turners in self-defense kept their weapons with them, contrary to the demands of the mayor. The matter when taken to the courts was decided by Judge Stallo,[1] who

[1] Johann Bernhard Stallo was born in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg (Germany) in 1823. He came to America in 1839, and after a career as college professor in natural science and mathematics, he settled in Cincinnati, and in 1853 was elected to the bench in the Court of Common Pleas. His decision in regard to the Turners in 1856 made him popular among Ger-

declared that since the mayor was not able to defend the Turners against the mob, they would have to be permitted to defend themselves with or without weapons. These occurrences were typical of numerous others in various parts of the country. In Baltimore, before the Civil War, the lives of foreigners were constantly endangered by the rowdies living in the place. "Mobtown," as the city was called, was infested with a number of fire-engine companies composed mainly of the idle and unruly elements. They would set fire to a house in order to produce an occasion for a free fight.[1] The advantages possessed by the Turners were their military drill and their individual strength in a hand-to-hand encounter.

The German-American gymnasts made an excellent record at the Frankfort-on-the-Main Turnfest in 1880. There were five hundred and twenty competitors for prizes; twenty-two prizes were awarded, the Americans receiving seven prizes with their nine competitors. In this record is included the winner of the first prize, Christian Meller, who was a member of the Frankfort Turnverein, but received most of his training in America, having been a member of the New York Turnverein from 1869 to 1877.[2]

American athletic games are mostly adaptations of English originals; German influence appears only in gymnastic and military exercises. Yet it is a fact worthy of note

mans throughout the country. He was actively engaged in politics and law, being noted for his leadership in reform movements. During the later years of his life he was United States Consul in Italy, closing a distinguished career by raising the standard of the United States consular service.

[1] The writer was told in conversation with a survivor of the famous "Liberties," who were the most numerous and the strongest fire-company in the city, that the only fire-company they stood in awe of were the German Turners.

[2] Cf. *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. xii, pp. 281–283.

that the native American of German descent has shown the same love of outdoor sports as any of the other national stocks; he has been prominent in football, baseball, rowing, track-work, and all other forms of athletic sports favored in the United States. On the football teams of Michigan and the colleges of the Middle West there are very many German names every year.[1] The team which in the West has for the longest period been most successful, viz., that of the University of Michigan, has had for its trainer F. H. Yost, a man of German descent.[2] No family has been more formidable on the college football field than the Poes.[3] Yale friends felt relieved when the last Poe disappeared from the Princeton gridiron and they learned that it would be many years before the next generation of the family would play for Old Nassau. The Poes made their reputation not by their superior weight or strength, but by their dash and skill.[4]

A similar family record is held by the Lueder brothers, who were prominent in Cornell athletics. One of them, a physician, is now graduate coach of the Cornell team, the

[1] They are almost as frequent as the German names on the glee and musical clubs.

[2] "I am of German origin; my people settled in New Jersey one hundred years ago. Great numbers of our family live in Pennsylvania and West Virginia." Quoted from Mr. Yost's answer to the writer's inquiry, March 7, 1907.

[3] They are descended from the German frontiersman Poh, in Western Maryland. The latter was a good Indian fighter. Cf. Volume I, Chapter VI, p. 176.

[4] This was shown in the game with Yale in 1900, when one of the brothers snatched victory from defeat in the last minute of play by a field goal, his own team being battered to pieces by the persistent onslaughts of Yale; and on another occasion, when, the teams being evenly matched, another Poe made the only score of the day. The ball suddenly issued from out of a mass play, when Poe grabbed it and ran as if inspired almost the whole length of the field to the goal-posts, altogether oblivious of his sprained ankle.

other brother, A. B. Lueder, was one of Cornell's record crew men and a "star" on the football field. The latter, a graduate of the engineering department, subsequently built all the bridges for the Uganda Railway in Central Africa, which was considered a remarkable performance for the speed with which the work was accomplished, the contract limiting the builder to a very brief period.[1] Henry Schoelkopf is another of Cornell's football men. He played two years on the Cornell and two on the Harvard 'varsity. The Cornell 'varsity crew that made the world's record in 1901 contained two men of German blood, Lueder and Kuschke, and two of Dutch descent, Vanderhoef and Van Alstyne. In the football season of 1908, Hollenback of Pennsylvania and Schildmiller of Dartmouth by unanimous consent were put on the All-American team, while Siegling of Princeton, Miller of Pennsylvania, Goebel of Yale, and Meyer of Annapolis were named for the second team.

In track athletics some of the record-breakers of German name are Hahn of Michigan; Hillman (New York Athletic Club); Schutt of Cornell,[2] and, greater than all, Kraenzlein[3] of the University of Pennsylvania. The latter is probably the greatest all-around athlete that has so far been developed in the American col-

[1] Cf. *The World's Work* (1903), vol. vi, pp. 3657–70. "Building American Bridges in Mid-Africa," by A. B. Lueder, engineer and agent in charge of the work. This is a fascinating account of expert engineering and adventures in the jungles.

[2] On inquiry the writer found that the family tradition is, that the original settler in America came from Austria. Schutt or Schütt is also a frequent name in Hamburg and Northern Germany.

[3] From the Athletic Association of the University of Pennsylvania the writer received the following reply to his inquiry: "Kraenzlein is of German descent. The football player Hollenback's father is German, his mother Irish."

leges. It is said that, if given time between events, he could have won an intercollegiate championship by himself. The following record is quoted from a newspaper account, showing his wonderful all-around feats: Hundred yards in $9\frac{4}{5}$ seconds; one-hundred-and-twenty-yard high hurdles in $15\frac{1}{5}$ seconds (world's record); two-hundred-and-twenty-yard low hurdles in $23\frac{3}{5}$ (world's record); quarter mile in $49\frac{4}{5}$; high jump, six feet; broad jump, 24 feet, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (intercollegiate record); sixteen-pound shot-put, forty-two feet; hammer-throw, one hundred and twenty-five feet; two-hundred-and-twenty-yard dash in twenty-two seconds; pole-vault, nearly eleven feet. This record has never been equaled by men of other national stock or race. Great athletes, as Kelly, Cook, or Mount Pleasant (American Indian), have not approached Kraenzlein's versatility.

In basketball there has been a remarkable team composed entirely of Germans in Western New York, viz., the Buffalo German basketball team, who claimed the world's championship for several seasons. If we were to consider the professional baseball players, the list could be headed by Hans Wagner, the popular shortstop and spirited captain of the victorious Pittsburg team.

The purpose of these records was to show that the German element has contributed good bodies to the so-called crucible of nations, which is evolving the new type of American. The German infuses normal health, stamina, endurance, and vigor into the physical development of the nation. The German as he arrives from his native land is, in stature, more thick-set, short, and stocky, perhaps with larger chest (better lungs), but not as long limbs as the American. He has more strength than grace. The American type, for instance, in the South, where

there has been little infusion of foreign blood during the last generations, appears very tall and gaunt in comparison. In those districts where the German immigration has been large, the slender type perhaps will be less frequent in the future, but the more evenly developed will appear as a result of the blending of the two types.

Medical care

Under the head of the care of the body should be included the work of the German element in the medical field, which, the writer is convinced, has been very considerable. This interesting field of investigation should attract some one to the manor born; at present it is not possible to support the argument in as convincing a manner as the subject deserves.

In the colonial period there are frequent records of German physicians. There was Dr. Christoph Witt, located in Germantown, Pennsylvania, from 1704 to 1765, a physician and astronomer, who, no doubt, was assisted by stellar influences in diagnoses and cures. Each of the large cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore had a leading German physician in the eighteenth century. Dr. Adam Kuhn, son of a German physician (the first medical practitioner of Lancaster, Pennsylvania), was a colleague of Dr. Benjamin Rush on the medical faculty of the college which is now the University of Pennsylvania. He occupied the chair of botany and materia medica for twenty-one years, until 1789, when he was chosen professor of the theory and practice of medicine. Three years after, he was elected professor of the practice of physic, a position which he held until his resignation in 1797, when he succeeded Dr. William Shippen as president of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia,

of which he had been one of the founders in 1787, and where he remained as head until his death in 1817. He was undoubtedly one of the three or four leading men of his profession in the United States during his time.[1]

In New York City the German physician, Dr. Hans Kierstedt, who came over with Director-General Kieft, of the Dutch West India Company, practiced medicine from 1638 to 1661. He married Sarah, the daughter of the skillful midwife, Annetje Jansen, also distinguished as the owner of most of the land included in the site of New York City. Another German physician, to whom a monument has been erected at Schenectady, Ernestus von Spitzer (called de Spitzer),[2] was surgeon-general of the colonial forces of New York State.

In Baltimore Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal was the founder of the first medical school in Maryland, a private institution which existed until the medical department of the University of Maryland was chartered in 1807.[3] His ambition in the founding of the school was to improve medical service, and to protect the people against quackery, which explains his attempts to have medical practice regulated by law,[4] a step far in advance of his time. Dr.

[1] Cf. F. R. Packard, *The History of Medicine in the United States, to the Year 1800.* (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1900.) In the treatment of yellow fever Dr. Kuhn had a controversy with Dr. Rush. Leading characteristics of the man were his neatness of appearance, regularity of habits, his punctuality, and strict observance of all his engagements.

[2] Ernestus de Spitzer was born in Heilbronn (Würtemberg), in 1709. His grandfather, Dr. Johann von Spitzer, was burgomaster of Heilbronn for a generation. Ernestus de Spitzer was surgeon also in the French and Indian War and one of the leading personages in Northern New York. He was the ancestor of a distinguished New York family of physicians and bankers.

[3] Cf. Dr. Eugene F. Cordell, *History of the University of Maryland;* by the same author, an account of Wiesenthal in the *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin,* July-August, 1900. (This contains a portrait of Wiesenthal.)

[4] Packard, p. 167. In 1788, while the students were dissecting the body

Wiesenthal was born in Prussia in 1726, settled in Baltimore in 1755, was appointed surgeon-general of the Maryland troops in 1777, and served continuously during the Revolutionary War, frequently honored by being consulted by French surgeons in difficult cases. He was a man of research, making the first discovery of a parasite of an infectious disease in America.[1] He was also president and physician of the German (benevolent) Society of Baltimore, and a prominent member of the first Lutheran church of the city. His son had an excellent career in medicine until his early death in 1798. A number of other men of German blood early advanced medical practice in Maryland,[2] very prominent among them being Dr. Samuel Baker (son of a German), the founder of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland.

Twice during the Revolutionary War the Moravian colony at Bethlehem gave up their largest buildings for the nursing of the sick and wounded soldiers of the Continental Army. The Reverend Mr. Ettwein visited the sick every week, and brought as much comfort as he could. Dr. Adolf Meyer and a German doctor from Saxony at one time attended the sick there in an epidemic of putrid fever.[3]

Philadelphia undoubtedly held the leadership in medical science for a long time. A conspicuous member of the

of a murderer, a mob attacked the house and put an end to their anatomical studies. (Packard, p. 166.) This shows what hardships scientific men had to contend with in the early days.

[1] The parasite producing verminous tracheo-bronchitis in fowls. Cf. *German-American Influence in Medicine and Surgery* (in Maryland), p. 4, by John C. Hemmeter, M.D., LL.D. (Professor of Medicine, University of Maryland, author of *Diseases of the Stomach*, and many other scientific works). Reprinted from the *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, vol. iv, no. 3, September, 1906.

[2] See Hemmeter, pp. 4–5.

[3] Cf. Packard, p. 284.

profession was Dr. Caspar Wistar, of a distinguished family. His grandfather[1] came to America in 1717 from the neighborhood of Heidelberg, and married Katharine Jansen of Germantown. Caspar Wistar derived his inspiration for the healing art when, a boy of sixteen years of age, he took care of the wounded soldiers at the battle of Germantown (1777). He took his M.D. at the University of Edinburgh in 1786, and on his return rose quickly. In 1789 he was professor of chemistry in the College of Philadelphia; in 1792, when his college was merged in the University of Pennsylvania, he became adjunct professor of anatomy and surgery, and in 1801, on the death of Dr. Shippen, succeeded to the full chair. The departments being separated in 1808, he was professor of anatomy from that year until his death in 1818. Not alone did Dr. Wistar stand high in his profession, but socially he was one of the most influential men of his time. His house was lavish in its hospitality, and his weekly gatherings of distinguished men in science, letters, and public life became known as "Wistar Parties," a name[2] which has survived locally and is of deep meaning in the social history of our country. Caspar Wistar succeeded Dr. Benjamin Rush in 1813 as president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and Thomas Jefferson as president of the American Philosophical Society, in 1815.

[1] Caspar Wistar, the founder of the family, acquired large tracts of land in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and built the first glass-factory in America near Alloway Town, a few miles east of Salem, New Jersey. He imported four expert glass-blowers from Rotterdam in 1738, and had them instruct him and his son Richard in the art. Father and son continued manufacturing glass of all kinds for many years. Cf. *The National Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. i, p. 273, and vol. xii, p. 359.

[2] The climbing shrub "Wistaria" was also named in honor of Dr. Caspar Wistar, the anatomist.

Another distinguished Philadelphia anatomist was Joseph Leidy (born in 1823), both of whose ancestors came from the Rhine Valley. His scientific interests swayed between anatomy and natural history, and he took both equally into his service in the execution of his lifework, the investigation of the extinct fauna of the United States. He published the "Special Anatomy of the Terrestrial Mollusks of the United States," and numerous scientific monographs on the extinct fauna of South Carolina, Dakota, Nebraska, and other Western territory.[1]

An American surgeon of international reputation was Samuel David Gross, who was born in 1805 near Easton, Pennsylvania, and whose ancestors came from the Lower Palatinate in the seventeenth century. His father was a successful farmer, connected with the quartermaster's department during the Revolution. Samuel Gross was a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and began his career as a lecturer on morbid anatomy at Cincinnati College. His book, "Elements of Pathological Anatomy" (1839), brought favorable comments from Virchow. Gross accepted a professorship at the medical college in Louisville in 1840, and for sixteen years advanced medical knowledge and practice in Kentucky. In 1856 he accepted the professorship of surgery in his *alma mater* in Philadelphia, and soon published his lifework "A System of Surgery" (1859). He was of great service in the Civil War, a special feature of his work being the provision of artificial limbs. His career marks a great advance in the science and art of surgery, and his unsurpassed services were recognized in such honors as

[1] Joseph Leidy was very skillful as a draughtsman, and illustrated his own works. As a teacher he served as professor of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania from 1853, and accepted the chair of natural history at Swarthmore College in 1871.

the presidency of the American Medical Association in 1862, of the International Medical Congress convened at Philadelphia in 1876, the award of the D.C.L. by the University of Oxford at its one thousandth anniversary, and of the LL.D. by the universities of Cambridge, Edinburgh, Pennsylvania, and Jefferson College. In 1897 an heroic bronze statue of Dr. Gross was erected by the physicians and surgeons of the United States at Washington, D. C., the granite pedestal of which was contributed by Congress, the first instance of a surgeon being so honored.

Dr. William Pepper,[1] as lecturer on anatomy and clinical medicine, 1868–1876, and professor of the theory and practice of medicine, 1876–1887, in the University of Pennsylvania, rendered distinguished service in medical teaching and science. As the eleventh provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 1881–1894, he reorganized the medical school and increased its efficiency. In order to insure the success of the lengthening of the medical course from three to four years he contributed fifty thousand dollars to the funds of the Medical School. He had been one of the leaders in the movement of founding a hospital in connection with the university, and raised the oldest medical school in the country to the highest standard of service.

The great-grandson of the Reverend J. H. C. Helmuth, first professor of the German language and literature at the University of Pennsylvania (successor of Professor Kunze), was William Tod Helmuth, a noted surgeon and homœopathist. He was born and educated in Philadelphia,

[1] He was of Pennsylvania-German stock. Cf. *The Pennsylvania Dutchman and wherein he has excelled*, by Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xxii, pp. 455–457. (1898.)

removed to St. Louis in 1858, where he became one of the founders of the Homœopathic Medical College, and was surgeon to the Good Samaritan Hospital. In 1870 he accepted the call to the New York Homœopathic Medical College, and shortly after became the surgeon to the Hahnemann New York Surgical Hospitals. He also established a private hospital in 1886, Helmuth House.[1]

New York has had a large number of men of German blood distinguished in the battle for health; the names, Beck,[2] H. J. Boldt, Herter, Jacobi, H. Knapp, Lauer, Meltzer, are in the foremost rank among the living. Researches, as those of Jacques Loeb (born in Germany), professor of physiology in the University of California; Nicholas Senn (born in German Switzerland), professor of surgery in the University of Chicago; and Adolf Meyer (born near Zurich, Switzerland), head of the new department of psychiatry in the Johns Hopkins University (endowed by Mr. Phipps), inspire hope throughout the land. The annals of the cities of Baltimore,[3] San Francisco,[4] Milwaukee,[5] and in all probability most other cities of prominence, if the records be but searched, show that

[1] William Tod Helmuth was also an able writer in the literary field, as shown by his books: *The Doctor Woman*, by Aiken Hart; *Steamer Book*, etc. The hospital work of his wife, Frances Pritchard Helmuth, will be mentioned below. Dr. Helmuth died in New York in 1902, and was succeeded by his son in the surgical post he had created.

[2] Carl Beck was born in Neckargemünd, Germany; he took his M.D. at the University of Jena; is professor of surgery in the New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital; president of St. Mark's Hospital, etc. He is the author of numerous scientific papers. He is also the genial president of the Union of Old German Students of America.

[3] Cf. Hemmeter, pp. 3 ff.

[4] Mr. Charles Bundschu, of San Francisco, sent the writer the following list of the physicians who had figured in the development of that city: Von Poellnitz, Schumann, Zache, Scharlach, Lehmkuhl, Von Loehr, Precht, Eckel, Von Behr, Regensburger, Hillerscheidt, Erdekind, Alers.

[5] Cf. Hense-Jensen and Bruncken, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner*.

physicians of German birth or extraction have taken a leading part in the sanitary and social improvement of their communities.

An attractive theme is the German influence in the development of American pharmacy. Many of the chairs in pharmacology have been occupied by Germans.[1] One of the largest pharmaceutical establishments in the world is the Meyer Brothers Drug Company of St. Louis, in German hands from its foundation. The firm has published a trade journal of wide circulation. Of telling influence has undoubtedly been the ubiquitous "Deutsche Apotheke," with its German script signboard on the outside, and its trained druggist within. The latter was equipped with an education as a prescription chemist abroad when such an opportunity was not yet to be had in our own country. A drug-store of that stamp had a wholesome influence on the health of the locality, and also had the effect of putting the quack out of business. Very interesting is the fact that the first scientific pharmaceutical journal ("Journal of Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics") which has appeared in the United States, was founded recently by a man of German descent, John J. Abel,[2] professor of pharmacology and in charge of the department of physiological chemistry in the Johns Hop-

[1] For example: C. Herter, professor of pharmacology and therapeutics, Columbia University; F. E. Engelhardt (born in Germany), professor of materia medica, New York College of Pharmacy; John J. Abel, professor of pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University.

[2] Professor Abel informed the writer that his father came to the United States from Würtemberg, and his mother (Becker) from Bavaria, about 1834. Professor Abel was the first president of the Society for Pharmacology, and Dr. William Gies (also of German descent) its first secretary. In conjunction with Dr. C. A. Hester, of Columbia University, Dr. Abel founded the first journal of biological chemistry in 1906. Dr. Hester is also of German blood.

kins University. Through Professor Abel's efforts, the Society of Biological Chemists (1907), and the Society for Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics (1908), both of which contain the leading men of the country in these branches, were called into existence.

(3) *Social organizations of the Germans*

It is interesting to observe the evolution of German social life in various localities in the United States where the Germans have gradually become more numerous. Most of the larger cities of the country would serve as examples. For convenience one will be selected where the personality of a single man, instead of a group of men, was of greatest importance in uniting the newcomers and developing their social life. The southern seaport of Charleston, South Carolina, had in the eighteenth century received a large German immigration, which was most important in developing the agricultural resources of the interior, but an influential residue of which remained in Charleston. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century that early German element was totally assimilated.[1] The sermons in the churches founded by Germans of the early period were then given in the English language. But a new immigration came, beginning about 1830, which assumed importance under the able leadership of General John A. Wagener. The latter, born in Hanover in 1816, arrived in Charleston in the year 1833. He was of the type of Friedrich Münch, the patriarch of the Duden Settlement in Missouri, well educated, energetic, and fair-minded. The initiative in every movement for economic and social betterment among the Germans came through him. The

[1] It will be remembered that the German Fusileers were of this number. The poet Timrod was descended from them. See *ante*, Chapter VII.

chronology of this social evolution was as follows: In 1838 a German fire-extinguishing company was founded. In 1840, the immigration increasing, means were procured for founding a church in which only German sermons were preached. A few years later a literary and musical society was established, "Zur Hebung des deutschen Sinnes und Gemütes." Though hardly twelve hundred Germans then resided in Charleston, a German newspaper, "Der Teutone," was started. After several attempts at Masonic organization, a social club of a different kind was founded, a Turnverein, in 1846. Then came a period of larger accessions from Germany, and an ambitious land scheme was promoted for the benefit of the new arrivals. In 1849 land was bought in a high western area of South Carolina, a hygienic location for German immigrants. The town of Walhalla, in Oconee County, was laid out and made the centre of a prosperous German settlement, which has since then proved the foresight of its founders. Economic and social prosperity went hand in hand in Charleston, and J. A. Wagener was active in 1851 in founding the Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, and in 1855 the German Schützen-Gesellschaft. The war shattered all material progress in Charleston. The Germans followed their leader, who was appointed brigadier-general, in the defense of their state.[1] After the war was over, the German immigration to Charleston was very slight, and the social life in consequence ceased to have any unity.

The evolution of the social life of the Germans in

[1] After the war came the uphill struggle in which again General Wagener was prominent. He was made a member of the state legislature, and in 1867, commissioner of immigration. In 1871 he was elected mayor of Charleston by a majority of 777. He was twice more elected mayor, in 1873 and 1875, but counted out by illegal methods.

Cincinnati may be followed in the pages of "Der deutsche Pionier." [1] A sympathetic observer of conditions in Central New York made the following observations on German beginnings in the city of Syracuse: "In 1840 there were very few Germans in the region about Syracuse. Then German peasants appeared, picturesque in their native costumes, settling about Syracuse and Salina. The next step was when the Germans became more numerous. They then formed a militia company, and their brilliant uniforms and military drill outshone anything that the native militia had accomplished. A Turnverein soon appeared. There was a church, which was Catholic, as could be told by the surmounting cross and the word "Deo" written above the entrance. This rude board structure soon gave way to the brick building in Romanesque style, with its two typical towers. This place later became the seat of the Franciscan Order. I always looked up to Germany as my ideal, — the country I wanted to become more closely acquainted with, — the land of scientists and philosophers, historians and poets. I have found when I attended the gatherings of Germans and Irish this difference. The latter on occasion drank whiskey, and when they took too much, became bad-tempered. The Germans drank beer, and the more they took the more good-humored and fraternal they became. They knew me as their friend in two directions — I was no prohibitionist (for I believed that prohibition did not prohibit and contradicted the idea of personal freedom), and I was not a Know-nothing. They always backed me faithfully in politics. When to my utter surprise at one time I received an invitation to be a candidate, I found that my

[1] H. A. Rattermann (editor); eighteen volumes. (Cincinnati, Ohio. 1869–1887.)

German friends were the cause of it."[1] The Germans of Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Buffalo, Baltimore, and a large number of other cities went through the same process of social organization; it is characteristic of the German, wherever he goes, to found Vereine for social, philanthropic, and cultural purposes.

(4) *Religious influences*

The strong trait of individualism which, in the political history of Germany, produced particularism, also asserted itself in matters of religion, and appeared as sectarianism in the United States. In the earlier part of this work the settlements of the numerous sects, as German Quakers, Dunkards, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, Amish, and others, were described. They came largely on the promise and fulfillment of religious liberty in the land of Penn, often leaving none of their number behind; and they won the admiration of their contemporaries by their industry and thrift, their simple lives, and religious devotion. In the reports of the Census of 1900 the Dunkards (or German Baptists) as a denominational family numbered 73,795, the Mennonites (including Amish, etc.), 41,541, the Schwenkfeldians (or Schwenkfelders), 306 communicants.[2] The three churches described earlier as those of broadest influence among the Germans during the last two quarters of the eighteenth century, the Lutheran, German Reformed, and United Brethren (Moravian), continued to be of great service in the nineteenth century.

[1] These observations were noted by the writer in an interview with a man whose authority is valued throughout the country.

[2] H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States* (American Church History Series), p. 397. (New York, 1893.) Based upon the Census Reports of 1900, and inquiries directed to the various church organizations.

Lutherans: The first Lutherans had come from Holland to Manhattan Island before its purchase from the Indians, in 1626; others appeared in New Sweden with Minnewit, in 1638, and their church at Wicaco (near Philadelphia) was dedicated in 1669. Justus Falckner labored in New York, beginning in 1703, succeeded by Christoph Berkenmeyer, and Christian Knoll who resigned in 1750. Lutheran minister and builder of a colony was Joshua von Kocherthal at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, and members of the Lutheran Church were the Salzburgers of Georgia under Bolzius and Gronau. But the sheep were scattered before the arrival (1741) of the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, who in 1748, with six other ministers and lay delegates, organized the first Lutheran Synod of America, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The second oldest synod was that of New York, founded over twenty-five years later, uniting the Lutheran churches of New York and New Jersey, Pastor Johann Christian Kunze, who had removed from Philadelphia to New York, being the leader in the movement.[1] The third oldest Lutheran Synod was that of North Carolina, founded in 1803, from which the Tennessee Synod seceded in 1820. In South Carolina, where fifteen German (mostly Lutheran) churches of the interior had been incorporated in the year 1788, a Lutheran Synod was not formed until 1824. The Maryland and Virginia Ministerium was founded in 1820, and that of Ohio much earlier, about 1812. The fact that Ohio and Tennessee had

[1] Cf. A. J. Schem, *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon* ("Lutherische Kirche in Amerika"), vol. vi, p. 693. Dr. Schem's authority is considered very good on American church history. See the latter statement verified, and quotations taken from him, in Carroll, *Religious Forces in the United States*, p. 69. It is unfortunate that Dr. Schem did not see his great opportunity also of collecting biographical data on eminent German-Americans.

Lutheran ministeriums before some of the coast states shows how very largely Germans took part in the early migration to the West and Southwest. Schools were soon founded for the education of Lutheran ministers, since the supply from abroad was but very scant. After these theological schools began to send out ministers, the growth of the Lutheran Church in America was remarkable. Among the noted teachers were the Reverend Ernst L. Hazelius, professor in the Theological Seminary at Lexington, who served from its foundation in 1834 for nearly twenty years; the Reverend Samuel S. Schmucker, distinguished as professor of the leading Lutheran theological school, the Gettysburg Seminary, in Pennsylvania, and serving from 1825 for almost half a century; his pupil and successor, the Reverend Charles P. Krauth; the Reverend George C. Miller, professor in the Hartwick Seminary in Central New York;[1] and the Reverend Samuel Sprecher, professor in the Wittenberg Theological Seminary, Springfield, Ohio, from 1849.

The first union of Lutheran synods occurred in 1820, called the "General Synod," which included most of the Lutheran ministeriums of the country, though never all of them, and until the Civil War continuing as the one large Lutheran organization in the United States. Pennsylvania, the oldest and largest synod, withdrew for a period, but rejoined in 1853. In 1820 the General Synod had 170 preachers and 35,000 communicants, and its

[1] Hartwick Seminary, established in 1797, was named after Pastor Hartwig, the founder, on whose land in Otsego County, Central New York, the college was built. In 1815 the Reverend Dr. E. L. Hazelius became the principal and the professor of theology, with the son of the president of the New York Ministerium as his assistant. This was John A. Quitman, subsequently famous in the history of the South as a brilliant general in the Mexican War, and Governor of Mississippi. Cf. Volume I, Chapter XVI, pp. 519–522.

growth increased with the German immigration. With the Civil War came the separation of the four synods of North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Southwest Virginia, which, subsequently uniting with Georgia and the independent ministeriums of Tennessee and Holston, became the "United Synod in the South." In 1866 was organized another large Lutheran body, the "General Council," a dissension arising because of the admission of the Franckean Synod, which was declared not Lutheran by a strong minority, headed by the oldest synod, that of Pennsylvania. The "General Council" is strongest in Pennsylvania; New York, Minnesota, and Illinois follow in that order; Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Nebraska, and Texas are represented by goodly numbers. The boundaries of none of the Lutheran organizations are limited geographically, and they contain German, English, Swedish, and other elements. The largest of the Lutheran general bodies, the "Synodical Conference," popularly known as the "Missourians," dates back to 1838, when about eight hundred so-called Saxon Lutherans (Alt-Lutheraner), with six of their preachers, left their native land because they objected to the attempt made by the central authorities to combine the Protestants of Germany (principally the Lutherans and the Reformed) under a united state church. The Union, they held, detracted from Lutheranism of the old form, and therefore they sought the land of religious liberty.[1] This spirit of ultra-conservatism, of living the age of Luther over again, has characterized this branch of the Lutheran Church; it found an expounder of extraordinary ability in the Reverend C. F. W. Walther, pastor in St. Louis beginning in 1841, and professor in the influential Concordia College of that city from 1850. The "Synodical Conference" was organ-

[1] For their settlement in Missouri, see Volume I, Chapter XIV, p. 448.

ized in 1872 by representatives of the Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Norwegian synods, four of which had taken part in the organization of the "General Council," but had withdrawn, intending to represent a type of Lutheran confessionalism stricter than the "General Council," though the latter had withdrawn from the "General Synod" for the same reason.[1] The "Synodical Conference" is almost entirely German in its membership, and champions the preservation of the German language in the pulpit and in the large number of church schools which it has founded. Besides these four large Lutheran organizations, there are independent Lutheran synods, as the "Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States," the "Buffalo Synod," the "Michigan Synod," and others.

The question of language has always been a difficult problem for the Lutheran Church in the United States. The church fathers knew that they could not adhere to the German language without the loss of large numbers of communicants among the descendants of German immigrants. Especially in the South, where no large German immigrations appeared to counterbalance the loss of the younger generation, the Lutheran churches abandoned the German language in order to save their church organization.[2] Doing this, they found they not only kept the children of the German immigrants, but obtained members also from other national elements. This change

[1] Cf. H. K. Carroll, p. 190.

[2] For example, the Tennessee Synod, at its first meeting in 1820, adopted the German language for all the business of the synod. In 1825 the minutes of the synod were printed also in English. In 1827 German was the official language of the synod for the first three days, and was thereafter displaced by the English. Cf. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, pp. 486–487.

from sermons in German to English was by no means limited to the South. It occurred as early in New York and New Jersey, where an even greater complication appeared. The Lutheran churches in New York contained frequently an old Dutch membership who demanded that the sermons be preached in the Dutch language. The German membership soon exceeded the Dutch because German immigrants arrived in larger numbers, and these now demanded sermons in the German language, nor were they satisfied with a compromise. They declared that rather than hear sermons in the Dutch language, which they could not understand, they would join the English church, and their threats were very frequently carried out. The Lutheran ministers were no doubt greatly perplexed by the existence of the three languages side by side, and the only course for the future of their churches was to adopt the English language. Thus there arose an English Lutheran Church in the United States, which may be called a German foundation, and which represents an important German religious influence, the transplanting of the German church of Luther upon American soil. The Lutheran Church is fifth in size in America,[1] with more

[1] Taking the number of communicants of each denominational family together, the first eight churches stand as follows. (Cf. Carroll, p. 397): —

1. Catholic	6,257,871
2. Methodist	4,589,284
3. Baptist	3,717,969
4. Presbyterian	1,278,332
5. Lutheran	1,231,072
6. Episcopalian	540,509
7. Reformed	309,458
8. United Brethren	225,281

In many of the Western cities the Lutheran is the foremost of Protestant communions, in Chicago outnumbering the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches combined. See Jacobs, *The Lutherans*, p. 446.

than one million, two hundred thousand communicants. An estimate of its constituency by languages is as follows:[1]

Languages	*Number of Organizations*	*Communicants*
English	1816	198,997
German	2691	460,706
German-English	1178	232,512
Swedish	688	88,700
Norwegian	1786	190,154
Danish	181	13,674
Icelandic	13	1,991
Finnish	11	1,385
Total	8364	1,188,119

The "United Synod of the South" is entirely, and the "General Synod" is mostly, English-speaking; the "General Council," the "Synodical Conference," and the independent synods, with few exceptions, use German in their church services and business transactions. The history of the independent Lutheran synods and independent churches that are self-governed and securely provided with endowments and properties is oftentimes very interesting. A good example is the "Zions-Kirche" in Baltimore, which, on October 15, 1905, celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation,[2] one among a hundred German churches that have witnessed the colonial

[1] Carroll, p. 178.

[2] The event of the celebration was above a common occurrence in the Monumental City. The publications issued by the church on that occasion show how general was the interest taken in the event, not only by the churches, educational and philanthropic institutions of Baltimore, but by numerous influential friends in the Fatherland. Cf. *A History of Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1755-1897*, by the Reverend Julius Hofmann, the present pastor. (Baltimore, 1905.) Also: *Festschrift der Zionsgemeinde zum 150. Jubiläum*, dargeboten von ihrem Pastor (Baltimore, 1905); and Festschrift: *Nachklänge zur Jubelfeier der Zionsgemeinde, 15.–17. Oktober, 1905*, vom Pastor der Gemeinde.

period, the birth of the Union, its perils, and its victories. The church was well endowed by a benefactor, who made the condition that German should be the language preached from its pulpit. Under the pastorate of the Reverend Heinrich Scheib, who served the church for the remarkable period of more than sixty years, the Zions-Kirche departed more and more from Lutheran dogmas, following in the path of the liberal doctrines of the great German preacher, Schleiermacher, and coming close to the position of the Unitarian Church in America.[1]

Episcopalians: The Episcopal Church in the United States exercised a strong attractive power upon the children of Lutheran parents, who themselves recognized the doctrinal kinship. Even graduates of Lutheran seminaries and sons of Lutheran ministers sometimes took holy orders, the most prominent example of which is perhaps that of William Augustus Mühlenberg, great-grandson of the founder of the Lutheran Church in America, who became a leading minister of the Episcopal Church in New York; he was the first pastor and superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital, in 1857, and had a national fame for his philanthropic work.[2] In Virginia, the Reverend Karl Minnigerode, born in Westphalia, Germany, in 1814, was the rector of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, the leading Episcopalian pulpit of the South. Minnigerode, while a student at the University of Giessen, had joined the Burschenschaften,

[1] The church was attacked in numerous polemical pamphlets by other Lutheran churches, stricter in their observance of confessional dogmas, but the congregation stood firmly by their pastor. One of the pamphlets written in reply by the Reverend Henry Scheib, in which his position was frankly stated, was entitled: *Die Zions-Gemeinde von Baltimore und ihre jüngsten Verketzerer.* (Baltimore, 1881.)

[2] For his career see below, under the head of German philanthropists. The Reverend William A. Mühlenberg was also a writer of hymns, "I would not live alway," being one of the best known.

and was implicated in the revolutionary movements of 1833 and thereafter. He was imprisoned for long periods, and when released in 1839 because his health was undermined, he sought refuge in exile. His scholarly attainments brought him the appointment of the professorship of classical literature at William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Virginia), which he exchanged for the pulpit in 1848, having four years previously taken orders in the Episcopal Church. In 1853 he became the successor of Bishop Cummins at Norfolk, and after several years of very successful work was called to the capital city of Virginia, soon to become the capital of the Confederacy. The leaders of the Confederacy regularly attended St. Paul's Church, and President Davis was present on the fateful morning, April 2, 1865, when a telegram announced to him the capture of Petersburg. The Reverend Karl Minnigerode showed his presence of mind that day by conducting the service to the end. While ex-President Davis was imprisoned at Fortress Monroe, Minnigerode several times succeeded in gaining permission to bring to his fallen friend the comforts of the Church.[1]

Reformed Church: There are three Reformed churches in the United States, the German Reformed Church ("Reformed Church in the United States"), the Dutch Reformed Church ("Reformed Church in America"), and an offspring of the latter, the "Christian Reformed Church." The German Reformed Church in 1900 comprised two thirds of the communicants of the whole denominational

[1] Cf. Körner, *Das deutsche Element, 1818–1848*, pp. 406–411. Körner (p. 114) compares Minnigerode and Follen, the one an Episcopalian minister of the Confederacy, the other a Unitarian minister in New England, and an abolitionist. Both were political refugees from Germany, and had been ardent advocates of freedom. Minnigerode was not a friend of slavery, but felt the loyalty of the Virginian to his state.

family, viz., 204,018; the Dutch Reformed, 92,970; and the Christian Reformed, 12,470. The beginnings of the German Reformed Church have been outlined in the historical part of this work. Its members were largely refugees from the Palatinate, and, since the parent church on the Rhine was unable to give them support, the Reformed Church of Holland sent ministers and raised nearly sixty thousand dollars for the erection of churches and schoolhouses and the support of ministers.[1] The Reverend Michael Schlatter, who bears a relation to the Reformed Church similar to that of the Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg to the Lutheran, was sent over as missionary and organizer, and in 1847 formed the first "cœtus" of German Reformed congregations in Philadelphia, the same year that the Dutch Reformed congregations organized their "cœtus" in New York. The Reformed Church, like the Lutheran, had the same difficulty of language to contend with throughout its history, and in the nineteenth century most Reformed churches adopted the English language; in 1869 the word German was dropped from the official name of the Reformed Church in the United States. There are still three Reformed synods (out of eight) in the country using the German language entirely, the German Synod of the East, the Central, and that of the Northwest. The ancient seat of learning of the German Reformed Church was Marshall College at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, which removed to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1850, and united with Franklin College. Franklin and Marshall remains the college of the Reformed Church in the East. On her honor roll are inscribed the names of G. Henry Ernst Mühlenberg, preacher and scientist; Frederick A. Rauch, able exponent of German philosophy, and first president of Marshall

[1] Cf. Carroll, p. 334.

College, and Philipp Schaff, a great teacher and scholar, professor of theology and German literature.

Presbyterians: As the Episcopal Church attracted the children of Lutherans, so the Presbyterian Church, being closely allied in Calvinistic doctrine, received into its fold large numbers of the descendants of the German Reformed. There were also prominent ministers among these, as the Reverend Dr. Henry Ruffner, who has been called the father of Presbyterianism [1] in the Valley of the Kanawha, i. e., in West Virginia. The Reverend Theodore J. Frelinghuysen,[2] who was born within the present borders of Prussia (at Lingen, East Frisia), and came to America in 1720, began a pioneer work of training men for the ministry. As an earnest, fervid, and eloquent preacher in the Dutch Reformed Church (of New Brunswick and elsewhere), he was of great influence also upon the Presbyterian ministers with whom he came in contact, and prepared, in New Jersey and New York, the way for the "Great Awakening."[3] There has also been a German section in the Presbyterian Church, which, however, is not increasing in strength. The Reverend G. C. Seibert was one of the pillars of this wing of the church.

Methodists: German influence quickened the very roots of Methodism. John Wesley, on his journey to America, received those strong impressions[4] from the Salzburgers at sea, and from the Moravian ministers after his arrival in Georgia, which resulted in a new religious birth. At

[1] Cf. J. P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, p. 304.

[2] See Volume I, Chapter VI, p. 153. The name was also spelled Frelinghausen. The Reverend Theodore Frelinghuysen was the ancestor of General Frederick Frelinghuysen (prominent as a soldier in the Revolutionary War) and of a line of statesmen in the nineteenth century.

[3] Cf. L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*, pp. 81, 134, etc.

[4] See Volume I, Chapter IX, pp. 237–238.

a meeting of the Moravians in Aldersgate Street, London, John Wesley was converted ("felt my heart strangely warmed") by the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, during the reading of Luther's preface to Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The Methodist Church in America owed its beginnings to Philip Embury and Barbara Heck, who came from Ireland, but were both descended from the Palatines. Their direct ancestors were a part of that great exodus of German emigrants from the Palatinate who appeared in London in 1709, and greatly perplexed the Board of Trade.[1] About five hundred families, thirty-eight hundred persons, were sent to the north of Ireland, and settled as agriculturists in the province of Munster. Barbara Ruckle, born in the County of Limerick in 1744, became in her eighteenth year a communicant of the Methodist group which had been visited by Wesley's itinerants, and concerning which he said, in 1758, such another settlement could hardly be found in the British Isles. Barbara Ruckle married Paul Heck, a devout member of the little community, in 1760, and in the same year they emigrated with her cousin, Philip Embury, his wife and two brothers, with their families. It is said the devout spirit for a time declined somewhat in the circle of her acquaintance. On one of her visits Barbara Heck found a company, to which her brother, Paul Ruckle, also belonged, at a game of cards, and her spirit was roused. She seized the cards, threw them into the fire, and warned the party concerning their danger and duty. She went immediately to the house of her cousin, Philip Embury, and appealed to him to break his silence and preach the Word without delay. Philip Embury, a meek and diffident man, said, "How can I preach, for I have neither a house nor a congregation?"

[1] See Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 78–79.

"Preach in your own house and in your own company first," was her reply.[1] Embury consented, and the first Methodist meeting in America took place, in 1765, at Philip Embury's house, located on Barrack Street, now Park Place, in New York City. The audience consisted of the few persons whom Barbara Heck had gathered; they were enrolled in a class and Embury preached weekly. The meetings were soon held in a sail-loft, and in 1768 the first church was erected, in John Street, at a cost of three thousand dollars. Captain Thomas Webb, of the British army, soon became an efficient worker with Embury. The Revolutionary War intervened,[2] and of the missionaries sent over from England only Francis Asbury remained, who, however, became the great representative of Methodism in the United States. On Asbury's missionary tours his traveling companion and principal helper was Henry Böhm,[3] who preached mainly in German and, for this very reason, had in some places, as in the Ohio Valley, larger audiences than Asbury. Böhm may be called the apostle of German Methodism. He lived to the unusual age of one hundred and one years, serving his church to the end. Wilhelm Nast, born in Stuttgart, 1807, has been called the father of German Methodism. He had studied theology and philosophy, taught German at West Point, modern languages at the Gettysburg Seminary, Greek and Hebrew at Kenyon College, Ohio, before entering the Ohio Conference in 1835. In 1839 he became the editor of "Der Christliche Apologete," which had a wide circulation

[1] Cf. J. M. Buckley, *A History of Methodists in the United States*, p. 101.

[2] At the outbreak of the war, Paul Heck took his family to Canada. Fitting tributes to Barbara Heck were the erection of Heck Hall for Women at Victoria University, Toronto, and Heck Hall at Evanston, Illinois (Garrett Biblical Institute).

[3] See Volume I, Chapter XIII, pp. 429–431.

throughout the country, and opposed the dropping of the German language, which is retained in a number of German Methodist conferences. Among noted Methodists of German descent, there is Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, for a long time secretary of the Freedman's Aid and Charity Extension Society, and missionary bishop to Africa since 1896.

Baptists: In Germany, the first Baptist congregation was founded in 1834 by Johann Gerhard Oncken, who labored against severe persecution until his congregation in Hamburg was yielded full privileges in 1848. In America, K. A. Fleischmann, of German Swiss birth, founded the first German Baptist community, in Newark, New Jersey, in 1842, and this was followed by similar organizations in Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Rochester, and St. Louis. There are now about two hundred and seventy congregations, with over twenty-six thousand members. These are not the same as the Dunkards (often called German Baptists) who came to America in 1719, and settled in Pennsylvania. The Dunkards or Tunkers chose as their pastor Andrew Mack; Christopher Sauer, the printer of the German Bible, was one of their number; and at the present day their descendants, embracing the various sub-sects (the Conservative and the Progressive Brethren, the Old Order and the Seventh Day, German), number together 73,795 communicants.

Unitas Fratrum (*Moravians*): The Unity of Brethren, Unitas Fratrum, commonly, though not correctly, called Moravians, have been repeatedly mentioned in the historical part of this work. They trace their origin back to the time of Huss, and their abode to Bohemia and Moravia. But their order was suppressed until resuscitated in 1722–1735 by Count Zinzendorf, who invited them to settle on his

lands, where the town of Herrnhut was built. Some of the number came to Georgia in 1735, but did not remain long. Under Count Zinzendorf's guidance they soon after founded Bethlehem, and later, Nazareth and Lititz, all in Pennsylvania. They were the most successful missionaries among the American Indians in the history of our country, founding stations of Christian Indians in various states. They erected schools for the education of young women, and were prominent in the musical history of the country. Their settlement on the Wachovia tract about Winston-Salem, in North Carolina, begun in 1753, is still one of the most attractive spots in the South. They are not rich, they are not numerous, yet, wherever they have gone, their presence has been felt as an influence for social and moral betterment. Their number now is not quite twelve thousand; more than one third are located in Pennsylvania; North Carolina and Wisconsin possess the next largest numbers.

United Brethren in Christ: The United Brethren in Christ should not be confused with the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians. The United Brethren in Christ, also of German beginnings, originated in the United States about the year 1800, under the fervent preaching of Philipp Otterbein, a native of Prussia, and Martin Böhm (father of the Methodist, Henry Böhm), a Mennonite pastor of Pennsylvania. These men met with eleven others in Frederick County, Maryland, in 1800, and founded a new denomination with a number of Methodistic features, as the practice of revivals, the system of itinerant preachers, elders, conferences. The church grew strong among the German element, and there still are German conferences, but gradually the German language was displaced by the English. In 1900 there were 4526 organizations and 225,281 communicants.

The Evangelical Association: A very similar history is that of the "Evangelical Association" founded by Jacob Albright (Albrecht), who was born in 1769 of German Lutheran parents living in Pennsylvania. Albright used the German language among his people, and adopted the doctrines, practice, and polity of Methodism. He gathered his converts for the first conference in 1807, and was elected bishop, but died in the following year. For some time the denomination was known as "The Albrights," or "The Albright People"; subsequently the name "Evangelical Association" was adopted. A division occurred in 1891. The number of organizations in 1900 was 2310; of communicants, 133,313. The English language has also in this denomination very largely encroached upon the German.

German Catholics: Though the Mother Church was brought over by the Spanish and the French, and is the oldest church in America, though it was established early (1634) in Maryland by English and Irish immigrants, it did not prosper until a much later period. In 1790 Bishop Carroll estimated the number of Catholics in the United States at about thirty thousand,[1] sixteen thousand of whom were in Maryland, seven thousand in Pennsylvania, and the rest widely scattered. From this inferior position the Roman Catholic Church rose in the nineteenth century to be the largest in the United States. This was accomplished first by the large Irish immigration, and beginning with 1840, by the ever-increasing German immigration. The importance of the latter was acknowledged by the church government in the appointment of the Reverend Johann Martin Henni as bishop of Milwaukee in 1844. Henni was the great pioneer of the Catholic Church in the Northwest, and

[1] Cf. H. K. Carroll, p. 68.

built strong foundations for the work of those that came after. He erected the cathedral of Milwaukee, a hospital, an orphanage, Notre Dame for the sisters that served as teachers, and a seminary for the training of German priests. He was made an archbishop in 1875, and in 1879 completed his fiftieth year of service. His successor to the archbishop's seat at Milwaukee was also a German, Michael Heiss, trained in Munich, and called from Cincinnati to Milwaukee by Archbishop Henni. The third archbishop of Milwaukee, Friedrich Katzer, was born in German Austria. The appointment of a large number of German bishops is a policy calculated to hold together the large German membership of the church.

German State Church: The State Church of Prussia is represented in the United States by the "German Evangelical Synod." The first organization was formed in Missouri by six evangelical ministers in 1840. Ten years later the Evangelical Society of Ohio joined the organization of Missouri. The Evangelical Synod of the East and of the Northwest joined the Union. The German Evangelical Synod accepts the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, subscribes to the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Catechism, and the Heidelberg Catechism, and upholds liberty of conscience. In 1890 the number of church organizations was 870; of communicants, 187,432.

Unitarians: The course of Unitarianism in America has been greatly influenced by contact with German liberal theology, beginning with the movement in American thought, before the middle of the nineteenth century, commonly called Transcendentalism. The beginnings of the Unitarian denomination in New England came much earlier, about 1815; a separate divinity school was organized at Harvard in 1819, and in the same year William

Ellery Channing preached an installation sermon in the newly founded Unitarian Church in Baltimore, in which he defined the differences between Orthodox and Unitarian doctrines. The denial of the Trinity, and the acknowledgment of no binding creed are not new ideas; they are as old as Arianism. In the carrying-out, however, of the ideal of "a movement of ever-enlarging faith," welcoming "inquiry, progress, and diversity of individual thought in the unity of spiritual thought," Unitarianism has turned toward German theology, whence America has derived every liberal theological movement in the nineteenth century. Three influences[1] may be clearly defined as coming from Germany — first, the influence of German speculative theology, in conjunction with the idealistic philosophy of Hegel, which furnished a great intellectual impulse. The central figure of this epoch, the master of liberal theology, was the great German preacher and scholar, Friedrich Schleiermacher, who opened a new interpretation for religion, and awakened that fresh enthusiasm among young American scholars which was characteristic of Transcendentalism. The publication of Professor A. Norton's Divinity School Address, "The Latest Form of Infidelity," in 1839, brought forth a bitter controversy, in which Theodore Parker, George Ripley, Frederic Henry Hedge,[2] and others took

[1] Cf. J. H. Allen, *Our Liberal Movement in Theology;* and *Sequel to Our Liberal Movement;* Chapter ii, *German Influence.* (Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1897.)

[2] J. H. Allen, in an essay on Frederic Henry Hedge, contained in the volume *Sequel to Our Liberal Movement,* p. 81, says: "He brought to the most brilliant and intellectual era of New England a gift of his own, that of two languages, English and German being about equally familiar to him from his school-days. It was not alone the literary knowledge of German, in which many scholars may have rivaled him; but he learned the tongue as a boy amongst boys, when the great day of German literature was still shining in its mellow afternoon. . . . This atmosphere of German thought, rather than

the liberal side. The second and third influences are those of critical theology. They take the Bible down from its position of infallibility and study it as the work of the inspired human mind. The one views the Bible from its poetic side, as literature, or from the historical and biographical, as explaining an evolution in the moral generation of man. This view dates from Lessing and Herder, with later great exponents, as Paulus, Strauss, and Baur. The third German influence is that of minute scholarly investigation, scientific criticism, and discovery, in which German scholars have led the world. Unitarianism has had the benefit of many of the ablest minds of their generation to deepen the channel and open the path to the sea, as W. E. Channing, James Freeman Clarke, Joseph Tuckerman, Henry Ware, W. H. Furness, E. H. Sears, F. H. Hedge, George Ripley, and Theodore Parker, each of whom represents one part or another of German liberal theology. One German name should not be omitted from this list, that of Carl Follen, the first professor of German in Harvard University, who, under the influence of his friends, Channing, Parker, and Everett, inclined to Unitarian doctrines, and became a Unitarian minister. He was a brilliant pulpit orator both in the English and in the German language, and but for his early death might have gathered greater fruits from his labors.

Freethinkers: "It would be strange," says Andrew D. White,[1] "if the land of Immanuel Kant did not recognize

its form and understanding merely, he had brought home with him just at a time when it not only quickened and enlarged his own university studies, but could be turned to later account to make flexible and rich the somewhat provincial dialect of letters and scholarship then prevailing in New England. This, rather than any formal teaching of philosophy — which he disbelieved in and kept aloof from — made his characteristic service to the so-called 'Transcendentalist Movement.'"

[1] *Some Practical Influences of German Thought upon the United States,*

a moral nature in man and its supreme value. The ethical principles developed in the 'Critique of the Practical Reason' were a power in the regeneration of Germany after the Napoleonic despotism. Such principles should be a power in the regeneration and high development of this Republic. Men of all creeds and parties may be united in it." Among the German refugees between 1820 and 1860 there were a large number that came to America with a stern sense of duty inherited from the traditions of their native country. That sense of duty has been a strong moral support in the case of the large number of intellectual Germans who do not adhere to the creed of any church for their moral guidance. Rationalism, freethinking, and ethical culture gained a stronger hold in America through the influx of German refugees of the nineteenth century. An illustration is the foundation of the Freie Gemeinden, modeled upon similar rationalistic or freethinking congregations in Germany. A union of such free congregations was effected in 1859, with Philadelphia as the central locality. The centre has now moved toward the Middle West. An interesting small denomination which has gathered together in its fold quite a number of liberal, independent churches, is the so-called "German Evangelical Protestant Church." Some of its churches are a century old; others are relatively new. In its theology the denomination is rationalistic and liberal. In 1900 it included fifty-two churches and 36,156 communicants.[1] Liberal theology need not be lacking in faith, and does not disavow the craving of the human heart for religious support, but gives evidence of deep thinking on religious subjects.

pp. 12–13, of an address delivered by Andrew D. White at the centennial celebration of the German Society, held in New York, October 4, 1884.

[1] Carroll, p. 155.

For the large majority of the German immigrants, their history has shown them to be eminently a religious folk. They brought their preachers with them at the beginning and held to their religious doctrines until merged in the stronger currents of American life, or until they gained strength enough to found lasting religious institutions of their own, as the Lutheran Church, the German Reformed, and many others.

(5) *German-American philanthropists*

An admirable trait of the rich American is his liberality toward charitable and educational institutions. Europe admires him for it and would wish the example followed more frequently by her own children. America looks upon the gifts of her favored sons of fortune with pride, but also with the dignity born of habit. Gift-giving on the large scale is therefore not a European influence, but sprang from a native spirit of generosity, and grew with the accumulation of greater wealth in the hands of individuals. In this evolution the German element[1] appeared early and continued to contribute generously in accordance with their means.

One of the earliest examples of a large public benefaction was the gift of a public library to the city of New York. By his will John Jacob Astor (born near Heidelberg, Germany, 1763) donated four hundred thousand dollars to found the Astor Library (1848). He also bequeathed fifty thousand dollars to his native town of Waldorf for the founding of an orphan asylum, thus giving the example to rich German-Americans of returning in kind some-

[1] Many of the names mentioned under this head and in this chapter have been referred to more at length in other places of this work. Complete references can be found in the Index at the close of this volume.

thing of the numerous gifts of money once made by Germans in the Fatherland for the benefit of German churches in the American colonies.[1] John Jacob Astor was the soul of honor and integrity in business, and was humane in his dealings with the Indians, his monopoly in the fur trade bringing him into constant connection with them. He was a constructor of institutions, not a destroyer, as when late in life by a gratuitous loan he saved the New York Life Insurance Company, which had been robbed of its entire surplus of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. William B. Astor, who inherited four fifths of his father's estate, turned the Astor fortune into real estate, and through wise administration was at his death (1875) the richest man in the United States. He is said to have erected over seven hundred stores and dwellings, was liberal to his tenants, generous in his charities. He added two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in money and two hundred thousand dollars in books to the endowment of the Astor Library. John Jacob Astor, 3d (born in 1822; died in 1890), is judged to have spent millions of dollars in charities, disbursed largely by his wife, Charlotte Augusta Gibbs Astor. The endowment of the Astor Library by the united benefactions of the family now amounts to about one million, seven hundred thousand dollars; the number of volumes in the library is about six hundred thousand.

Foundations of educational institutions and gifts to them have been numerous by men of German blood. William Wagner, born in Philadelphia in 1796, the great-grandson of Tobias Wagner, chancellor of the University of Tübin-

[1] As the gifts reported in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, for the establishment of a German church in Philadelphia, or the sums brought over for the maintenance of the pastors of the Salzburgers in Georgia.

gen in 1662, founded the Wagner Free Institute of Science in Philadelphia. The Reverend M. Tobias Wagner, who came to Pennsylvania from Würtemberg in 1742 and settled at Reading as a Lutheran minister, was the founder of the American branch of the family. William Wagner early showed his love of nature in his fondness for making collections of rare natural specimens. While in the employ of Stephen Girard, who advanced the young man rapidly to positions of responsibility, Wagner had one very good chance to indulge his taste. This was in 1818, when supercargo on an extensive trading voyage that lasted two years. He brought home a rare collection of shells, plants, and organic remains gathered from most varied parts of the globe. After being very successful in business William Wagner retired in 1840, and devoted himself to travel and study. In 1847 he began his courses of free lectures on science, first at his home, then in a hall, and in 1855 he founded a permanent institution. In 1865 an appropriate edifice was dedicated, which, with its cabinets and collections, was given to the city, provided the property should forever be used for instruction in natural science. The total amount contributed was estimated at five hundred thousand dollars, while the unique collections are above money valuation. William Wagner continued to act as president of the Free Institute of Science until his death in 1885, employing an able corps of lecturers and assistants.

Dr. William Pepper, the eleventh provost of the University of Pennsylvania, was of Pennsylvania-German stock.[1] During his administration, from 1881 to 1894, greater advances were made than in any previous part of the university's history. All departments experienced a regen-

[1] Cf. Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman, and wherein he has excelled, Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xxii, pp. 455–457.

eration, new departments, as finance and economy, philosophy, biology (Joseph Leidy), veterinary medicine, dentistry, and others, were established. Fifty free scholarships for worthy students were founded, and steps were taken toward the improvement of teaching. Provost Pepper, who in 1871 had been largely instrumental in the establishment of a hospital in connection with the University, now instituted another advance in the oldest medical school of the land, lengthening the three years course to one of four years. He took the initiative in raising the endowment needed for this purpose by his gift of fifty thousand dollars to the Medical School. An important donation benefiting mainly the University of Pennsylvania was that of General Isaac Jones Wistar,[1] who in 1892 presented a building for the anatomical museum (established in 1808 by Professor Caspar Wistar) and provided a liberal endowment for the "Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology."

Henry Villard (baptismal name, Heinrich Hilgard), born in Rhenish Bavaria, the prominent war correspondent, and railroad magnate of the Northwest, gave generously to a number of educational institutions, the State University of Oregon, the University of Washington State, and Harvard University. He also endowed a number of philanthropic institutions in Germany: the new hospital of the Red Cross Society at Munich, an industrial institution at Kaiserslautern, an orphan asylum at Zweibrücken, and a hospital and training-school at Speyer, his birthplace.

[1] Isaac Jones Wistar, the son of Dr. Caspar Wistar and Lydia Jones Wistar, was born in Philadelphia in 1827, and became a distinguished lawyer and soldier. As colonel of the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, a regiment to which he had largely contributed in organizing, he fought a desperate battle at Antietam, where he was left on the field for dead. Citizens of Philadelphia showed their appreciation of his services at Antietam, by the presentation of a sword. Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xii, p. 359.

John Welles Hollenback, of old Pennsylvania-German stock, has been a trustee of Lafayette College since 1865 and has made many gifts to the college. Charles M. Schwab, ex-president of the United States Steel Corporation, has established the Homestead (Pennsylvania) Industrial School, and also built the new Catholic Church at Loretta, Pennsylvania ($150,000). John Fritz, the veteran ironmaster of Bethlehem, gave to Lehigh University, of which he is a trustee, a thoroughly equipped and modern engineering laboratory, valued at over $50,000. Milton S. Hershey, the chocolate manufacturer of Pennsylvania, made the gift of a $50,000 science building to Franklin and Marshall College. The same institution has frequently received the liberal aid of the president of its trustees, George F. Baer (of German descent), president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company.

Charles B. Rouss, of German-Austrian ancestry, benefactor of the city of Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley, Civil War veteran (Confederate Army), gave a thirty-five thousand dollar physical laboratory to the University of Virginia. He was a very successful dry goods merchant, the founder and editor of the "Auction Trade Journal," and the donor of the replica of the Washington and Lafayette statue by Bartholdi, erected in New York City. The day of the agricultural fair at Winchester, Virginia, is named Rouss's day in his honor. Treasuring Southern historical memories he was the patron of a museum of Confederate relics, fashioned according to the patron's plans, called Confederate Memorial Hall, or Battle Abbey of the South.

James Lick (original spelling Lück),[1] one of the pioneers

[1] James Lick was born in Fredericksburg, Pennsylvania, in 1796. It is said that he wooed a well-to-do miller's daughter, and was rejected by the father

of California, left several million dollars for scientific and benevolent purposes. His bequests included ten thousand dollars for the purchase of scientific and mechanical apparatus for the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco; an equal amount for the California Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; twenty-five thousand dollars to each of two Protestant Asylums; sixty thousand dollars for a bronze monument to Francis S. Key (author of our national anthem), to be erected in San Francisco; one hundred thousand dollars for an old ladies' home in the same city; one hundred thousand dollars for three groups of bronze statuary in front of the City Hall, and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for public baths in San Francisco; five hundred thousand dollars to found and endow the California School of Mechanic Arts; and, the gift for which he is most widely known, seven hundred thousand dollars for the construction of an observatory and a telescope therein "superior and more powerful than any telescope yet made." The site for the observatory was carefully selected; it was located on Mt. Hamilton, 4285 feet above sea-level, on government land, thirteen miles east of San José, and fifty miles south of San Francisco. The telescope erected since then at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, said to be the largest and finest in the

on account of the suitor's poverty, whereupon the latter vowed he would erect a mill surpassing that of the father. This story is taken to explain the erection by the eccentric millionaire, of a palatial mill at San José, California, which before its destruction by fire was a curiosity in the whole region. He also erected an hotel in San Francisco costing an immense sum. James Lick began as an organ- and piano-maker, migrated to South America, where he seems to have made some money, and then appeared in California, where he invested heavily in real estate. In 1874 he assigned three million dollars to a board of trustees, but before his death, two years after, twice revoked and twice renewed the gift, demanding a different board of trustees. James Lick is described as unlovable, without friends, and miserly, yet the fact and the character of his bequests prove a large humanity and an intellectual thirst.

world, was also the gift of a descendant of the Pennsylvania-Dutch, Charles T. Yerkes. His ancestry was Holland-Dutch, though composed of several nationalities, probably including German. Yerkes was frequently called the street-car king, because of his heavy operations in street-railways in Philadelphia and Chicago, and his financing and managing underground railway systems in London. His gift to the University of Chicago for the construction of the Yerkes Observatory amounted to about four hundred thousand dollars.

Men of German blood have been deeply interested in extending education to the level of the people commonly lacking in means and opportunity. Thus, the first to conceive and project the "Chautauqua movement" was Lewis Miller,[1] the inventor of the "Buckeye Mower." In 1873, with Bishop John H. Vincent of the Methodist Church, he visited Chautauqua in Western New York and secured the ground where the first assembly was held in August of that year. Lewis Miller built a home on the lake, and was president of the assembly, the reading-circle, the college of liberal arts, and the complex departments of this

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi, pp. 216–217. Lewis Miller was born in Greentown, Ohio, in 1829. His father, of German descent, removed from Maryland to Ohio in 1812. Lewis Miller in 1851 became a partner of Ball, Aultman & Company (see *ante*, Chapter III), manufacturers of reaping- and threshing-machines. Thoroughly trained in the machinist's art, he invented the "Buckeye Mower" in 1855, assisted in the study of the invention by his brother Jacob. The distinctive feature, "the double-hinged floating bar," became the model for all subsequent machines of the kind. Manufacturing establishments were located at Akron and Canton, Ohio, employing over fifteen hundred men and producing annually agricultural machinery valued at six million dollars. Lewis Miller was deeply interested in education and in matters of public concern; was an earnest anti-slavery advocate, and in 1878 Republican candidate for Congress. For forty years he was the Sunday-school superintendent of the Methodist Church at Akron, where he carried out some original ideas of Sunday-school room architecture (the "Akron style").

educational, religious, and social institution. The date 1878 is commonly given for the foundation of the Summer School, with its lectures, classes, and summer recreations; since then the institution has had about two hundred and fifty thousand members. The influence of the summer-school idea and of home reading has gone out from Chautauqua all over the United States, and the National Home Reading Union of England has been founded on the Chautauquan model.[1] Mr. Miller has also made liberal gifts to neighboring colleges, to Mount Union College and Wesleyan University of Ohio, to Allegheny College of Meadville, Pennsylvania, and to Buchtel College at Akron. The latter institution was founded by a business partner of Lewis Miller, viz., John Richard Buchtel,[2] whose great-grandfather, a mathematician and astronomer of university training, came from Germany. Mr. Buchtel was for many years president of the C. Aultman Company, manufacturers of agricultural machinery, and much of the origin of the business prosperity of Akron, now a manufacturing centre, is due to his energetic efforts. The corner-stone of Buchtel College was laid in 1871, when Horace Greeley delivered an address. Buchtel College is under the denominational control of the Universalist Church of Ohio.

One of the most liberal bequests ever made for the education of children was that of Jacob Tome.[3] He wished

[1] Cf. Baedeker's *United States*, p. 232. (Leipzig, 1909.)

[2] J. R. Buchtel was born in Summit County, Ohio, in January, 1820. In 1854 he entered the employ of Ball, Aultman & Company. Ten years after, he induced the manufacturers of the Buckeye machine to build a factory at Akron, which he considered a desirable location, and in which he was not deceived. In Athens County he founded the town of Buchtel, which had a phenomenal growth. He was a director in many companies, as the Akron Iron Company. Churches of many denominations were the recipients of his gifts.

[3] He was born in Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1810,

to establish a private school for the children of poor parents, and his original donation of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was used to carry out that idea. The benefactor's will left about three million dollars for the educational work of the Tome Institute, and out of this magnificent endowment a preparatory school for college, the Jacob Tome Institute for Boys, was evolved, which is now the peer of Phillips Academy at Exeter and Andover, Lawrenceville, or St. Paul's School. Jacob Tome was also for many years a trustee of Dickinson College, and in 1884 made the gift of a science building.

The Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, the purpose of which is "the extension and improvement of industrial education as a means of opening better and wider avenues of employment to young men and women," was founded in 1891 by Anthony J. Drexel, a man of German descent. The endowment of this model institution, including the buildings and equipment, amounts to four and a half million dollars. The German idea of the trade school is realized in the plan of this great institution, with American adaptations. Liberal culture is fostered by lectures, concerts, a free library, a picture-gallery (presented by Mr. J. D. Lankenau and Mr. Drexel — the paintings are of modern French, German, and Italian masters), and a museum, containing collections of wood and metal work, ceramics, embroideries, textiles, and the rare autographs presented by George W. Childs, the intimate friend of the founder. The father of the latter, Francis Martin Drexel, was born at Dornbirn, in the Austrian Tyrol in 1792. After studying painting at Turin and Berlin, he spent a few years in

descended from German Lutherans. He made his money in the lumber trade at Port Deposit, Maryland, and there erected his institutions. See *ante*, Chapter v.

South America, painting portraits of notable men, including General Bolivar. He came North, first to Mexico, then to Philadelphia, and in 1837 established there the banking-house of Drexel and Company. The New York house, Drexel, Morgan and Company, was founded in 1850, the Paris branch, Drexel, Harjes and Company, in 1867. Before his death, in 1863, Francis Martin Drexel had the satisfaction of seeing his house established in the first class among institutions of the kind in the United States. He was succeeded by Anthony J. and Francis A. Drexel (deceased). The former appeared in the business office at the age of thirteen, before he had completed his schooling, and the story of his life is the history of the progressive expansion of the banking-house. The name of Drexel is also honored in the Mary J. Drexel Home, located by the side of the German Hospital of Philadelphia and opposite Girard College. It was founded by Mr. John D. Lankenau and named in memory of his wife. Mr. Lankenau had, as president and benefactor of the German Hospital, seen the need of trained nurses, and applied to Germany for Lutheran deaconesses, the first of whom arrived in 1884. A training-school for nurses of the German pattern, and a home to which the deaconesses might retire when enfeebled by sickness or old age, was the next step. Mr. Lankenau contributed over five hundred thousand dollars for the building of this home, and annually gives his liberal support to this the handsomest and most complete institution of its kind. The fact of the importation of German methods of hospital work is also of great significance.

John D. Rockefeller is descended from Johann Peter Rockefeller, who came from Germany and lived among the earliest New Jersey Germans.[1] His gift of thirty-two mil-

[1] See Volume I, Chapter VI, pp. 154–155. It is possible that Johann Peter

lion dollars to the General Education Board "is the largest sum ever given by a man in the history of the race for any social or philanthropic purposes." This gift was recently supplemented by over ten million dollars more. The founder of the University of Chicago, which through gifts amounting to over ten million dollars was enabled to assume a position of commanding usefulness, has also endowed the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City. A large number of colleges and universities, particularly when in need, have been the recipients of benefactions from John D. Rockefeller, e. g., Yale ($1,000,000), Brown, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Vassar, and Barnard.

The Reverend William Augustus Mühlenberg, born in Philadelphia in 1796, great-grandson of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the father of the Lutheran Church in America, was the founder of St. Luke's Hospital in New York City. He prepared himself for the ministry of the Episcopal Church, and during his first rectorship at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was instrumental in establishing the first public schools outside of Philadelphia. While at Flushing, Long Island, he founded a school, afterwards St. Paul's College. In 1846 he became rector of the Church of the Holy Communion in New York City, erected by his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rogers, as a memorial to her deceased husband. On St. Luke's Day the rector awakened his congregation to the need of a church hospital, and half of the collection of that day was laid aside for the purpose. Out of the small offering, which amounted to only thirty dollars, there grew a hundred thousand and

Rockefeller or some earlier ancestor came from the other side of the Rhine. It is an interesting fact that Johann Peter Rockefeller donated a lot to be used as a burial-ground for his neighbors and his family.

then another hundred thousand. The corner-stone of St. Luke's Hospital was laid in 1854; the hospital was opened for patients in 1858. The Reverend William Augustus Mühlenberg became the first pastor and superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital in 1857, and remained in that position until his death in 1877. He organized the first Protestant sisterhood in the United States, who took charge of St. Luke's Hospital and the day school connected with the Church of the Holy Communion. The Reverend Dr. Mühlenberg crowned his lifework with another humanitarian institution, called St. Johnsland, a sort of industrial community located on the north shore of Long Island, about forty-five miles from New York. There a home was built for destitute and crippled children, an old men's home, and opportunity provided for indigent young men capable of fitting themselves for the Episcopal ministry. The founder died in St. Luke's Hospital and was buried in St. Johnsland.[1]

A most remarkable organizer and distributer of charitable funds is Louis Klopsch, born in Germany in 1852. He became the proprietor of the "Christian Herald" in 1892, and through his widely circulating paper has raised more than two and a half million dollars in international charities. He brought relief funds to the famine-stricken in Russia in 1892 and received the personal thanks of the Czar. In 1898 he sent a cargo of corn of the value of four hundred thousand dollars to the famine-stricken in India. In the same year President McKinley appointed him on a commission of three, charged with the relief of the starving *reconcentrados* in Cuba, for which purpose he raised a fund of two hundred thousand dollars. In the spring of 1900 he visited the famine and cholera fields of India, and

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ix, p. 199.

in six months raised nearly seven hundred thousand dollars through his paper. The starving in China, in Finland, and Sweden, engaged his attention for the next few years. In 1906 he raised two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the sufferers in Northern Japan, and in the following year sent three hundred thousand dollars in money and flour to relieve the famine-stricken in Central China.

Nathan Straus,[1] born at Otterberg, Rhenish Bavaria, in 1848, is a friend of the poor. Since 1890 he has maintained at his expense a system of supplying sterilized milk to the poor in New York City, establishing stations where pure milk is to be had at one cent a bottle, or the same milk is supplied free on presentation of coupons calling for five bottles, the coupons being in the hands of physicians practicing among the poor, or being given to charitable organizations for distribution. The statistics of the Health Department show that many thousands of infant lives have been saved by this system. In the winter of 1893–1894, a year of great suffering among the poor, Nathan Straus established lodging-houses for the poor and homeless, and in conjunction with Mr. J. P. Morgan set up groceries and bakeries where food supplies could be obtained at the carload price. Mr. Straus has also originated a system of coal depots in the poor districts where coal can be had by the bushel or pailful at a very low price, or free, in winter. In 1898, after the surrender of Santiago de Cuba, Mr. Straus sent to the vanquished a complete

[1] Nathan Straus and his brothers, Isidor Straus (merchant) and Oscar Solomon Straus (diplomat), were all born in Rhenish Bavaria, and lived in Georgia before settling in New York City. There in 1866 the father and his sons established the firm of L. Straus and Sons, importers of pottery and glassware. Isidor and Nathan in 1887 entered the firm of R. H. Macy & Co., department store, and are now sole members. In 1892 they bought another large interest, the firm taking the name Abraham and Straus.

ice-manufacturing plant, which furnished thirteen tons of ice and forty thousand gallons of pure ice-water daily, besides the refrigeration of all meats and fruits needed for the soldiers' hospital.

Alfred Dolge,[1] born in Chemnitz, Saxony, founder of model factories of piano hammer-felt, felt shoes, and piano sounding-boards at Dolgeville, California, has instituted with great success some of the German methods of insuring and pensioning the laboring classes. He has studied and applied very successfully a method of profit-sharing, the profits being invested in a manner beneficial to the workmen, in building-associations, life-insurance, premium funds, and the like. A pension system prevails against accident and old age, the amount derived being dependent on length of service.

Ezra Charles Fitch, descended on his father's side from Thomas Fitch, governor of Connecticut (1754–1766), was born in Bremen, his mother being a German, Auguste Fechler. As president of the Waltham Watch Company since 1886, he employs over thirty-six hundred persons making twenty-seven hundred watches a day. He has not alone wonderfully increased the capacity of his manufacturing plant, but he has made the city of Waltham a study in social betterment. By his establishment of public parks, hotels, and lunch-rooms with food at cost, this Massachusetts town has become a model of its kind.

[1] Alfred Dolge came to the United States in 1866, and first worked at the bench as a piano-maker, a trade he had learned in his father's piano-factory at home. He started independently in 1869, building Dolgeville, New York, before removing to California. His great specialty is the manufacture of felt, in which he is unsurpassed. His factories have always held the monopoly in the manufacture of superior piano-felt. Mr. Dolge also founded a new industry, the manufacture of felt shoes in the United States. He has also perfected the manufacture of piano sounding-boards, as president of the Dolge-Posey Company, at Dolgeville, California, seven miles east of Los Angeles.

Adolph H. J. Sutro (born in Prussia), the great tunnel builder, settled in San Francisco in 1879 and invested heavily in real estate. An area of barren cliffs and sand wastes he transformed into a park called Sutro Heights. Elected in 1895, he was one of the best mayors San Francisco has ever had. He gave to the city a public reference library of two hundred thousand volumes, an art collection, and a replica of the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty.

Another great benefactor of San Francisco was the sugar-king, Claus Spreckels (born at Lamstedt, Hanover). The establishment of a great industry, and the founding of an interoceanic trade is itself a great philanthropic as well as economic achievement. Spreckels founded in San Francisco a model system of lighting accessible to the poor as well as the rich. He supported liberally all benevolent enterprises and erected a music-stand in Golden Gate Park at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars.

George Ellwanger (born in Würtemberg), the founder of the greatest nursery firm in the United States, was one of the most active promoters of the commercial progress of the city of Rochester, New York, and one of its greatest benefactors. His firm presented Highland Park to the city, with all its fine trees and shrubbery. Mr. Ellwanger also made the donation of a German Home for the Aged, in 1900. Similarly, in the city of Columbus, Ohio, Louis Zettler (born near Mainz, Germany, in 1832) has been a great force as a promoter of enterprises (pork-packing, groceries, hardware) and as a benefactor. A prominent member of the Catholic Church, he founded the St. Vincent Orphan Asylum in the seventies.

The founder of the city of Stockton, California, was Charles Marie Weber (born near Homburg, Rhenish Bavaria, in 1814). The name was given the settlement in

honor of Commodore Stockton, who promised aid in getting concessions for the new colony. Weber was one of the earliest pioneers of California, leading a life full of adventure and hazard while defending American against Mexican interests.[1] He was several times condemned to be shot and once set adrift in a desert near San Diego to perish. Immediately after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Fort, Weber organized the Stockton Mining Company. He had the courage to become the first banker of San Joaquin Valley, constructing a vault that cost him a thousand dollars, and taking on deposit at one half of one per cent a month all gold-dust and rough gold from the diggings. The city of Stockton was laid out according to his plans, and its miles of asphalt paving, macadamized streets, and fine residences supplied with electricity and natural gas, are a lasting monument to the genius and liberality of Charles M. Weber.

Adolphus Busch (born in Mainz, Germany), sole proprietor of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, contributed one of the largest sums, one hundred thousand dollars, to the relief of the San Francisco earthquake sufferers. He also gave one hundred and fifty thousand dollars toward the building-fund of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University, and on many occasions has shown his liberality toward art and humanity. He was chairman of the committee on art at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and like many more German-American millionaires, is a student and collector. Thus Richard Herrmann (born in Saxony), the furniture manufacturer of Dubuque, founded the Herrmann Museum of Natural History, and is a writer on geology and antiquities; Charles F. Gunther (born in Würtemberg), the Chicago

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vii, p. 455.

confectioner, owns one of the finest collections of Washington and Lincoln relics; Louis Windmüller (born in Prussia), merchant and political reformer in New York City, is a collector of books and pictures; Gustav Beyer (born in Saxony), the furrier, is the owner of one of the largest collections of American beetles; Charles A. Schieren (born in Prussia), the New York tanner, is a patron of the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences;[1] a very useful book collector was Abram H. Cassel, a Pennsylvania-German, who ransacked garrets and closets in Pennsylvania all his life in search of sources of history, and willed his entire collection to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Single gifts of the latter kind have frequently been of very great value in the history of art and science, as the Rinehart scholarship,[2] which has enabled many promising young sculptors to spend several years of study in Rome; or the gift of William Ziegler, which has furnished the means for voyages of discovery in the Arctic regions. The benefactions of the manufacturer of "Royal Baking Powder" call to mind the generosity of the baker of the Revolutionary War, Christopher Ludwig, who made several charitable bequests, and left the residue of his estate, about three thousand pounds, for the foundation of a free school, called Ludwick's Institute.[3] The amount was not small for those days, and was a gift well bestowed.

In practically all of the cities where Germans dwell in large numbers, philanthropic institutions are established

[1] Among Mr. Schieren's gifts to the Museum is Gabriel Max's *The Martyrs of the Catacombs*. At Mühlenberg College (Allentown, Pa.) Mr. Schieren recently established a scholarship ($43,000) for young men studying for the ministry. As mayor of Brooklyn (1894–95) he laid the foundation of that city's enlarged park system.

[2] See *ante*, Chapter VI.

[3] See Volume I, Chapter XI, p. 305.

for the care of German orphans, the German aged and the sick, and frequently the privilege of entrance is not restricted to persons of German blood or speech alone. Good examples of such institutions are the German Hospital of Philadelphia, and that of New York; the German Orphan Asylum, and the Greisenheim of Baltimore; the Deutsches Altenheim of San Francisco, located in a beautiful valley near Oakland, destroyed by fire in 1908, but greatly enlarged and improved on rebuilding.

German charity has not been confined to the human species, but has extended to the brute creation. One of the leading traits of the Pennsylvania-German farmer has always been the care he has taken of his horses and cattle; in fact it has sometimes been said in reproach of him that the care of his stock gave him more thought than that of his family. It is but natural, therefore, that the movement to prevent cruelty to animals in the United States should have been initiated by a man of German blood. Henry Bergh, born in New York in 1823 of German ancestry,[1] being well provided for by his father, traveled extensively in Europe, and, particularly while secretary of the American legation at St. Petersburg in 1862, was shocked by the cruel treatment of animals. Bergh visited England and sought the acquaintance of Lord Harrowby, president of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. When Bergh returned to America, his determination was fixed to spend the rest of his life in the defense of the dumb brute. He persevered in spite of the indifference and ridicule that he encountered, and founded, in

[1] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii, p. 106. The German ancestor came to America about 1740, settling near Staatsburg-on-the-Hudson. Henry Bergh's father was a naval architect who constructed numerous merchant vessels and some men-of-war. *Supplement to Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. i, p. 499.

1866, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in New York State. In imitation of the parent society, branches have been formed in nearly all states and territories. Mr. Bergh at first attended personally to the prosecution of cases in the courts, and was appointed a special attorney by the State of New York. In many cities the members of the society were given special authority to make arrests. In 1871 Louis Bonard, a Frenchman who had come to America poor and had accumulated wealth, willed his entire fortune, found to be one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, thereby aiding greatly the work of Mr. Bergh, who had supported the institution solely by his own means. Many other important matters, besides punishment for acts of cruelty, came within the province of the Society, as improved methods in the transportation and killing of cattle, the care of the horse and other beasts of burden, the purification of milk, and the prevention of cock- and dog-fights. Mr. Bergh invented a kind of trap by which clay-pigeons were shot upward to imitate the flight of a bird, as a substitute for live pigeons in shooting-matches. As a speaker and lecturer, as a worker on the streets or in the courtroom, Henry Bergh had no equal. He made frequent lecture tours, and inspired a new canon in the Episcopal Church, giving clergymen authority to preach a sermon at least once a year on the prevention of cruelty to animals, "speaking for those who could not speak for themselves." In 1874 the founder of the society rescued a little girl from inhuman treatment, and the act led to the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which became as widely beneficial as the original foundation.

The list of German-American philanthropists would be

incomplete without the names of a number of women, whose benefactions will now be considered under a special head, treating of the work of German women in the United States.[1]

(6) German-American women

As the personality of Carl Schurz stands out prominently among the German men who have come to this country, so does the career of Anna Behr Ottendorfer shine with the native brilliancy of genius among German-American women. She was born in Würzburg, Bavaria, in 1815, and followed her brother to America in 1837. In the following year she married the printer, Jakob Uhl, who in 1844 bought the "New Yorker Staatszeitung," then a small weekly paper, founded by Neumann ten years previously. With the able assistance of his wife, Jakob Uhl soon issued the paper three times a week, and in 1849 changed it to a daily. But he died suddenly, in 1852, leaving his widow with the care of her children and the responsibility of managing what was promising to be a large and influential journalistic undertaking. Being acquainted with every detail of the newspaper business, and endowed with unusual executive ability, she took up the burden, and from 1852 to 1859 was the sole manager of the "New Yorker Staatszeitung."[2] She refused all offers of purchase, and through her courage, energy, and perse-

[1] As in many other departments of this work, the writer has not had the advantage of a single "Vorarbeit" in this special field. He is therefore conscious of not doing the subject justice.

[2] There is another instance, almost contemporaneous, of a German woman conducting a German-American newspaper, that of the wife of Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, the founder of the only Republican newspaper in Maryland, *Der Wecker*, of Baltimore. Mrs. Schnauffer assisted her husband until his death in 1854, and after that was frequently called upon to edit it herself, and once courageously defended it against the attack of a Baltimore mob. See *ante*, Chapter IV, p. 134.

verance not only made the paper remunerative, but laid the foundations of its powerful influence. In 1859 she married Oswald Ottendorfer,[1] who had been on the editorial staff of the paper for a number of years. While her husband occupied the chief editorial chair, Mrs. Ottendorfer continued the business managership until shortly before her death in 1884. She was sincerely beloved for her works of charity, most of which the public never knew of. Her wealth constantly increased, and she devoted a good part of it to the foundation and enlargement of institutions that were of lasting benefit. In 1875 she built the Isabella Home for Aged Women in Astoria, Long Island, in memory of her daughter Isabella. On this she spent about fifty thousand dollars, and a like amount as a memorial fund was distributed among several institutions. In 1882 she devoted seventy-five thousand dollars to the building of the Women's Pavilion in the German Hospital of New York, and subsequently gave one hundred thousand dollars for the German dispensary on Second Avenue. In recognition of her numerous acts of charity Mrs. Ottendorfer received a medal from the Empress Augusta of Ger-

[1] Oswald Ottendorfer, born in Zwittau, Moravia (Austria), in 1826, was an ardent revolutionist of 1848–1849, taking part in the disturbances in Vienna and Dresden, and exiled in consequence. Fleeing to Switzerland, he next turned to America, arriving in New York in 1850, and shortly after was employed by Uhl on the *Staatszeitung*. Ottendorfer was a Douglas Democrat, but refused to join the Southern Breckenridge faction because of its adherence to slavery. He supported the government strongly throughout the Civil War, and at its conclusion advocated a pacific policy toward the vanquished. In 1871 Ottendorfer was president of the German Reform party, taking a leading part against the Tammany Ring. He refused candidacy for the mayoralty of New York, but served as an alderman in 1872. He was a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, and made several gifts to New York University, e. g., books and the Ottendorfer Fellowship in Germanic Philology. His benefactions were numerous, particularly to German institutions of New York City.

many. In her will she bequeathed twenty-five thousand dollars to the employees of the "Staatszeitung," provided liberally for the various charities she had founded and included many others among her beneficiaries. Mrs. Ottendorfer's acts of charity should take rank far above the larger gifts of many a noble woman, because the generous sums of money which she spent, she had also earned herself; they were the fruits of her lifework.

Another distinguished philanthropist among women of German descent was Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, born in New York, in 1828. Her great-grandfather, John David Wolfe, came to America from Saxony before 1729. Members of the family served in the Revolutionary War, and her father retired from business at the prime of life in order to devote himself and his wealth to educational and benevolent purposes. He was one of the founders and the first president of the American Museum of Natural History, and a prominent member of the New York Historical Society. When he died in 1872, his only child, Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, succeeded to his philanthropic work. She had fully availed herself of exceptional educational advantages, cultivated her appreciation of art, and studied carefully the effect of her charitable awards. She personally visited the poor, educated young girls, relieved want and suffering. Some of her larger gifts, bestowed as often upon science and art as charity, were as follows: To Union College, Schenectady; the American Chapel at Rome; the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; the Wolfe expedition to Asia; the chantry and other buildings to Grace Church, New York; the Home for Incurables at Fordham. Perhaps she is most widely known as the patron of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to which she gave her collection of paintings and a fund of two hundred thousand dollars

for their maintenance and increase. By her will she bestowed more than a million dollars upon the educational and charitable institutions founded by her father and herself.

Klumpke is a name which four sisters have made distinguished in Europe as well as in the land of their nativity. San Francisco claims the honor of being their birthplace. Their father, one of the early pioneers of California, is still living, in retirement, in an isolated home commanding a beautiful view over the waters of the Golden Gate. Their mother, a woman of strong character, possessed the ambition to see her daughters obtain the best educational advantages the world could give. In 1871 she went abroad with her daughters and saw each of them devote herself to a different Muse, and gain distinction in the service. The eldest, Anna Elizabeth, became an artist, the friend and protégé of Rosa Bonheur, the celebrated French painter of animal life and landscapes. The latter left to Anna Elizabeth Klumpke her fortune and her château, declaring her a worthy successor. The second daughter, Augusta, is a prominent physician, the wife of Dr. Déjerine, professor in the medical faculty of the University of Paris, whose collaborator she has been in many of his important works. Julia Klumpke, the youngest, is a talented violinist, pupil of Ysaye, and was one of the first women to pass the examination of the Paris Lycée. The most famous, however, of the distinguished sisters is Dorothea Klumpke, an astronomer of international reputation. She completed all the requirements and examinations in science and mathematics at the University of Paris, and is the only woman on whom was ever conferred the degree of doctor of mathematics at the Paris Academy of Sciences. She pursued studies also in Germany and Switzerland, and

in open competition won the position of assistant at the Paris Observatory, coming out first against fifty French competitors of the opposite sex. At the Paris Observatory her work was mainly the photographing of stars, and many valuable discoveries resulted from it. When the International Astronomical Congress undertook the cataloguing of all stars as far as the fourteenth magnitude, the French division of the work was placed in charge of Dorothea Klumpke, with four assistants. For her astronomical observations she has frequently made balloon ascensions, and in France has had a reputation as the leading woman aeronaut. In recognition of her scientific researches, Dorothea Klumpke was decorated by the Institute, and has been made an *officier de l'Académie*.

The great singers and musicians belong to all the world; they are migratory as the winged singers of spring and early summer. Several, however, because of their parentage, and birth or long residence in this country, may appropriately be called German-American women. A leading name among them is Minnie Hauck, born in New York City, in 1853. Her father was an eminent German scholar, a refugee of 1848, who married an American woman. They lived for a time in Kansas, then in New Orleans, and finally returned to New York for their daughter's musical education. Minnie Hauck's girlhood was care-free, and she loved to sing, attracting thereby the attention of a patron in New Orleans, who encouraged her to study for the opera. She made her début in the New York Academy of Music as Amina in "La Sonnambula," and from that evening on was one of the most popular artists in her native country. According to custom or necessity she then made a European reputation, singing in London and Paris her rôles of Amina and Lucia. Under Strakosch, Adelina

Patti's manager, she made a tour through Holland and Russia, being received with great enthusiasm in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1870 she made her début in the Royal Opera House of Vienna (singing Violetta in "La Traviata"), and became a great favorite. She attracted the attention of Richard Wagner, and under him studied the rôles of Elsa in "Lohengrin" and Senta in "The Flying Dutchman." In 1874 she became the prima donna in the Royal Opera House of Berlin, and remained four years, winning fresh laurels in new parts. The German composer Goetz wrote the part of Katharine in "The Taming of the Shrew" expressly for her, and the opera was produced with great success in 1876. The Emperor William and Empress Augusta bestowed upon her the rank of court and chamber singer for life, an honor shared only by Adelina Patti and Pauline Lucca. In 1877 she created her famous part of Carmen, which she sang for the first time at Brussels, subsequently in London and New York. For more than ten years she sang in New York in winter and during the spring season at Covent Garden in Her Majesty's Opera in London. The rôles in which for a long time she seemed unapproached were those of Selika in "L'Africaine," and Carmen. She was one of the most versatile of all singers that have ever appeared, performing in about one hundred and twenty parts, from Wagner to Rossini and Auber, singing in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Russian. In 1894 she made a trip around the world, singing in Japan, China, India, Egypt, and Morocco. Her career, one of the busiest on record, marked the progress from the old to the new era of opera-singing. In 1882 she married the Austrian geographer and man of letters, the Baron Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg.[1]

[1] Cf. *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. viii, p. 154.

Another great singer whom America may claim is Emma Juch, born in Vienna, in 1863. She was brought to New York by her parents as an infant, and took singing-lessons from her father. She made her début in London, singing Italian opera; subsequently she was very successful in the parts of Mignon and Marguerite, and in rôles from Verdi, Meyerbeer, and Wagner. In 1889 Emma Juch courageously undertook to form an English Opera Company of her own, under the business managership of Charles E. Locke, and, though the American Opera Company with Thomas as director had failed shortly before, she successfully toured the greater part of the United States. Such an undertaking, at the time when it was accomplished, may be compared to the pioneer work of the Germania Orchestra, or, in a different class, to the battles with axe and rifle against forest and savage.

The prima donna Lillian Evans Blauvelt, born in Brooklyn in 1873, bears a name that points to German origin. She gave recitals under Seidl, Thomas, and Damrosch, sang at the Handel Festival in London given in the Crystal Palace in 1900, and is the only woman ever honored by the decoration of the Order of Saint Cecilia at Rome (1901). Her rôles are Marguerite ("Faust"), Micaela ("Carmen"), Juliette ("Roméo et Juliette"), Zerline ("Don Giovanni").

German-Americans would gladly claim as one of their number the celebrated Wagner singer Schumann-Heink, born in 1861 near Prag, who has for many seasons interpreted Wagner in New York, and has been the leading soloist at many a German-American Sängerfest and at memorable concerts throughout the United States. The qualities of her heart, her humanity, and numerous charities, have given her a permanent place in America independent of the brilliancy of her musical genius.

Of pianists with an international reputation Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler may be called a German-American. She came from Austrian Silesia with her parents, Solomon and Bertha (Jaeger) Bloomfield, in her second year. They settled in Chicago, the city which the great pianist still names as her residence. She studied principally under Leschetizky in Vienna. She played in the principal American cities, 1883–1893, and since 1895; made a tour in Germany, 1893–1895; in England, 1898; in Germany, Austria, and France, 1902.

The number of German-American women who give excellent concerts of vocal or instrumental music throughout the land is very great. Their training has very generally been received in Germany, or latterly in American conservatories, which are so frequently supplied with German directors and instructors. As teachers of music, women of German blood are very numerous, and they are often the daughters of those patient music-masters who for the first time introduced music into American homes. The heritage of enriching American family life with the cultivation of music has been taken up by the second generation. Similarly the children of German portrait-painters and teachers of drawing have taken up the art, and of the two sexes the women are far more tenacious of the family traditions.

Teachers of the modern languages, particularly German, in our secondary schools and colleges are very frequently women of German blood. As professor of the German language and literature, Carla Wenckebach taught a generation of students at Wellesley College, instructing them in the literary excellence and ethical import of the German classics, quickening and training their mentality with linguistic scholarship, and inspiring them with the animation

and fervor of her personality. She has written a large number of text-books. Her successor, Margarethe Müller (born in Hanover), has created a beautiful memorial to her deceased friend in the book, "Carla Wenckebach, Pioneer," [1] charming in tone, plastic in description, and withal a most fascinating story of a well-spent life. Ottilie Herholz (born in Prussia) has performed a great service in the chair of German at Vassar, and similarly Professor Kapp of Smith College, who was also a native German. The work of the kindergartners, and the establishment of a seminary for teachers of the kindergarten in New York City by Maria Kraus-Boelte (born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin), have been referred to in a previous chapter.[2]

As authors, women have contributed very largely to what in another connection has been called German-American literature. The earliest examples of note, perhaps, are the letters of the Countess of Riedesel,[3] the wife of the Hessian, or, more accurately speaking, the Brunswick General Baron von Riedesel. She followed her husband throughout the campaign of General Burgoyne in New York; after the surrender she accompanied him into captivity, traversing the greater length of the colonies, from Canada into Virginia and from there back and forth several times on the way to New York in the expectation of release. The letters amount to a diary, written in a direct and racy style, giving most interesting side-lights on contemporary history and social conditions. In the nineteenth century Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob wrote under the pseudonym "Talvj," formed of the initials of her name. She was born at Halle in Germany, the daughter of the eminent

[1] Published by Ginn & Co., Boston, 1908.

[2] *Ante*, Chapter v.

[3] *Briefe der Generalin von Riedesel.* (Berlin, 1800.) Translated into English by Wallenstein; also by W. L. Stone.

Professor von Jakob, who accepted a call to Russia, but returned to his chair at Halle in 1816. His daughter, through her Russian travels, derived the advantage of acquaintance with the Slavic languages, which stimulated her to linguistic studies. Her first publication, "Volkslieder der Serben" (1825–1826), translations into German of Slavic folk-songs, Goethe took occasion to praise highly in a conversation with Eckermann.[1] In 1830 she married the American Orientalist Edward Robinson, who at the time was librarian and professor at Andover, and from 1837 to his death, in 1863, was professor of Biblical literature at Union Theological Seminary in New York. His German wife became interested in the language of the North American Indians, and sent home a description of their dialects, entitled: "Die Sprachen der Indianer Nordamerikas" (Leipzig, 1834). In 1840 she published an essay of very great influence in the republic of letters, "The Poems of Ossian not Genuine," in which she gave evidence of her linguistic attainments and broad scholarship. The titles of some of her later publications show the range of her literary work: "The Colonization of New England" (1847), "Héloïse, or the Unrevealed Secret" (1850), "An Historical View of the Slavic Languages" (1850), "Life's Discipline, a Tale of the Annals of Hungary" (1851), "The Exiles" (1853). The house of the Robinsons in New York was a "salon" where scholars and literary men of the time went in and out. There, for instance, Mrs. Bayard Taylor met William Cullen Bryant, as she tells us in her memoirs. Mrs. Taylor[2] was also a German woman, the daughter of the distinguished Ger-

[1] *Eckermanns Gespräche mit Goethe*, vol. i, p. 130. (January 18, 1825.) Goethe also reviewed the translations for *Kunst und Altertum*.

[2] Bayard Taylor was twice married, the first time to Miss Mary Agnew.

man astronomer, Peter Andreas Hansen. American scholars at this period of German intellectual ascendancy brought back with them from Germany not only learning and literature and books, but frequently wives, of rare cultivation, of German warmth and genuine simplicity, whose influence in America no one has ever thought of considering at all. Yet the memoirs just referred to, "Aus zwei Weltteilen," Erinnerungen von Marie Hansen-Taylor,[1] are among the best ever written on America by a foreigner, whether man or woman. The book is appreciative of things American, yet it is not uncritical; while it reflects the truth fully, it is constructive, and gives the view of one who has not only observed, but also labored in the vineyard. The memoirs are full of interesting reminiscences of the leading literary men and women of the time (1857–1878) in America, and a particular charm is the impression we get of the inspiring personality of Bayard Taylor.

Mathilde Giesler-Anneke had a most remarkable career before she came to America as a refugee. Thrown on her own resources, she edited the "Westfälische Jahrbuch," with the collaboration of distinguished writers, as Freiligrath and Levin Schücking, and wrote poems, short stories, and a drama. An ardent revolutionist of the period of 1848, she had married Fritz Anneke, sometime a Prussian artillery-officer, who was imprisoned in 1848, but released soon after. During that epoch she founded the "Neue Kölnische Zeitung," soon suppressed by the government. She changed the paper to a woman's journal, wherein she argued for equality of the sexes and the opening of chan-

[1] *Deutsche Verlagsanstalt.* (Stuttgart u. Leipzig, 1905.) A translation has been prepared by the author and her daughter, Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani, entitled: *On Two Continents: Memories of Half a Century.* (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905.)

nels for woman's work. This "Frauenzeitung" was also soon suppressed. In 1849 she followed her husband to the Palatinate and to Baden, entering Karlsruh, mounted, with the army of freedom. After the collapse of the revolution she came to America. In Milwaukee she founded the "Deutsche Frauenzeitung" in 1852, but soon removed to New York, then to Newark, where her husband edited a political newspaper. She was in Switzerland from 1860 to 1865, for her health, a frequent correspondent, however, of the "Belletristisches Journal" of New York and the "Illinois Staatszeitung" of Chicago. After her return to America in 1865 she founded a private school for girls in Milwaukee. Her literary work continued until her death in 1884, and included novels, short stories, and poems. Another refugee during the same period was Bertha Rombauer, born in Hungary of German parents. Her translations of Hungarian poems and her collection "Bunte Blätter" (Gedichte, St. Louis, 1869), are noteworthy. Her permanent home became Alameda, California. Pauline Widenmann, whose birthplace was the Solitude, near Stuttgart, so famous for its Schiller associations, contributed, like Frau Anneke, to the dignifying of woman's position. Her views were not radical, as seen in her poem "Der Beruf des Weibes."[1] Anna Nill (born also in Würtemberg), admitted to the Socialist Party at the age of twenty, writes flaming verses in the cause of human rights, and betrays a gnawing homesickness for the land of her fathers.[2]

Writers who have contributed poems and stories to current literature are Marie Raible (poems), Bella Fiebing (poems in "Belletristisches Journal"), Minna Kleeberg

[1] Cf. the collection of poems by Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika*, p. 242.
[2] Cf. Neeff's collection, p. 156.

(poems), and many others. Under the pseudonym "D. B. Schwerin," Dorothea Böttcher wrote two novels for the "Chicago Freie Presse," called "Der Sohn des Banquiers," and "Die Erbschleicher." Some of her poems were put to music by eminent composers. Kathinka Sutro-Schückling wrote a novel, "Umsonst," published in Baltimore in 1879, which treats the theme of the husband, a poet, married to a beautiful, rich, young wife who has no appreciation of the beauties of art or nature. As in Ludwig Fulda's treatment of the same plot, the tragic realization of their difference in constitution comes to the couple on their honeymoon trip. In the little story of Frau Sutro-Schückling the husband is a European, the wife an American. Within the present time, accompanying the modern movement for improving the position of women, a number of volumes of choice and exquisite poems by women have appeared in Germany, their standard of form and expression being far superior to that of our anthologies of German-American verse. A little volume of this kind, which has received very favorable notices from the severe type of literary criticism that relentlessly keeps pruning the vines in Germany, is one "Fremde und Heimat," Gedichte von Hermine Stueven,[1] who, a native German, is on the teaching staff of Wellesley College. A scholarly and pleasing *feuilletonist* is Amalie von Ende, who, in the columns of the New York "Nation," keeps America informed about the latest phases of contemporary German literature.

Few readers of Scott's "Ivanhoe" have been made aware of the fact that the original of the heroine, Rebecca, was an American woman. She was Rebecca Gratz,[2] of German-

[1] E. Piersons Verlag. Dresden, 1905.

[2] Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. x, p. 130. Rebecca Gratz was born in Philadelphia in 1781 and died in 1869.

Jewish descent, whose family settled very early in Lancaster County, and whose father became a very successful merchant in Philadelphia. The Kentucky branch of the family were patrons of Transylvania University at Lexington. Rebecca Gratz was a woman of uncommon beauty and social accomplishments, and reputed still more highly for her philanthropy. One of the founders of the Philadelphia Orphan Society, she was for more than forty years its secretary, and held the same office in the Hebrew Benevolent Society. She was a worker in many charitable organizations, as the Fuel Society and the Sewing Society of Philadelphia. Her circle of friends was select, including Washington Irving, Henry Clay, the Schuyler and Hoffman families. Mathilde Hoffman, the only love of the author of the "Knickerbocker History," was Rebecca's intimate friend, and this explains Irving's acquaintance with her noble qualities. When Walter Scott was about to write his "Ivanhoe," with an ideal of the Jewish race as the heroine, Irving described his friend to the novelist. Scott sent the first copy of his work to Irving with the question, "How do you like your Rebecca? Does the Rebecca I have pictured compare well with the pattern given?"[1]

In opening avenues for woman's work men of German blood have frequently rendered assistance. Thus it was

[1] Scott derived other descriptions of the Jews from hearsay. He wrote to Mr. Skene, who had given the novelist vivid accounts of the persecution practiced upon the Jews in some German cities: "You will find this book owes not a little to your German reminiscences." Most accurately does a speech of Rebecca's at the close of *Ivanhoe* fit the life of Rebecca Gratz: "Among our people, from the time of Abraham downwards, have been women who have devoted their thoughts to Heaven, and their actions to works of kindness to men, tending the sick, feeding the hungry, and relieving the distressed. Among these will Rebecca be numbered. Say this to thy lord, should he chance to inquire after the fate of her whose life he saved."

upon the suggestion of General Spinner,[1] United States Treasurer under Lincoln, that women were employed for the first time in government offices. It happened during the war, when places made vacant by clerks who enlisted in the army, were filled by women. Prominent as a collector of statistics for the United States Bureau of Labor has been Mary Clare de Graffenried, a descendant of the Baron de Graffenried who brought the first German colonists to North Carolina.[2] She has gathered industrial and sociological data throughout the United States, and in Belgium and France. A pioneer in hospital work was the American woman, Frances Stubbs Pritchard, who in 1859 married the eminent surgeon, Dr. William Tod Helmuth, then in St. Louis, the organizer of the Good Samaritan Hospital. Through the experience derived in this hospital, Frances Helmuth undoubtedly received the inspiration for her subsequent philanthropic work in New York. In 1870 she led the movement that resulted in the foundation of the Flower Hospital; she was for many years the president of the Woman's Guild of the New York Homœopathic and Medical College (to which her husband

[1] Francis E. Spinner was born at German Flats, Herkimer County, New York, in 1802. His father had come to America the year before from Werbach, Baden. The son was a prominent member of the state militia, and for twenty years executive officer of the Mohawk Valley Bank. He was an anti-slavery Democrat elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress; also a member of the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth congresses. In 1861 he was appointed by Lincoln United States Treasurer, and continued in that position until 1875, ending his service without the discrepancy of a penny in his accounts. While a congressman he served on a number of important special committees, on the Army Appropriation Bill which the Senate had rejected in the Thirty-fourth Congress, and on the committee to investigate the assault made by Preston Brooks on Charles Sumner. Cf. *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. xii, p. 388. Also, *Encyclopædic Dictionary of American Reference* vol. ii, p. 247.

[2] See Volume I, pp. 212–213.

had been called), and was a leader in the establishment of industrial training for girls under the State. The first woman to receive a medical diploma, Mary Putnam Jacobi, daughter of the publisher, G. P. Putnam, became the wife (1873) of the eminent German surgeon, Abraham Jacobi, in New York, authority on diseases of children. She was the first woman to be admitted to the École de Médecine at Paris (graduated there in 1871), and has been the pioneer as a practitioner in America, and in advancing the medical education of women.

Before the modern era, two types of women have been praised most highly and portrayed most frequently in German literature, the heroic and the domestic. Both are most abundantly represented by the German element in the United States. The history of the American frontier records the brave deed of Elizabeth Zane,[1] who ran the gauntlet of British and Indian rifles to carry in her apron the contents of a keg of powder for the use of the besieged. A monument has been erected in her honor near the site of the deed, in the city of Wheeling. In the Valley of the Mohawk the wife of the frontiersman Christian Schell,[2] at a moment when her husband and boys were reloading, and the Indians thrust the points of their rifles through the walls of the block-house, seized an axe and bent the barrels of the deadly intruders, putting them out of combat. For her courage and coolness at Monmouth, Molly Pitcher[3]

[1] See Volume I, Chapter XIII, p. 419.

[2] See Volume I, Chapter XI, pp. 316–318.

[3] For an account of Moll(y) Pitcher (Maria Ludwig), see Volume I, Chapter XI, pp. 341–342. A few more details may be added here: She was born in Pennsylvania, in 1744, of Palatine ancestry. The *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. IX, pp. 262–263, states that for her brave deed of handling and firing the deserted cannon at Monmouth and thereby inspiring the men to hold their position at a critical moment, General Greene presented her to General Washington the next day, who appointed Moll Pitcher (not her

received the rank of sergeant on the field of battle at the hands of General Washington. Barbara Frietchie in Whittier's poem stands for numbers of instances when German-American women risked their lives in defense of their country's flag, and the gentlest of women displayed their ability to rouse strong men to deeds of valor, when the Moravian Sisters of Bethlehem embroidered banners[1] for Pulaski's legion, to be carried aloft in the cause of freedom.[2]

The domestic type includes the great majority of German women and their daughters in the United States, and

husband) to the rank of sergeant. She is said to have served in the army eight years, and was placed on the list of half-pay officers. She is also credited with gallantry during the capture by the British of Fort Clinton, on the Hudson, in 1777. The garrison fled in such haste that her husband dropped the lighted torch with which he had been about to fire the cannon. Thereupon she picked it up and sent the last ball fired into the enemy's ranks. In 1822 the Pennsylvania State Legislature granted to Molly Pitcher by special act an annuity of forty dollars semi-annually for life. She died the following year, and was buried with military honors. On her monument at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, her name appears as Mollie McCauley (renowned in history as Molly Pitcher, the Heroine of Monmouth), the latter being the name of her second husband, a worthless subordinate officer (sergeant) who lived on her income. A monument on the battle-field of Monmouth commemorates her in the act of ramming a cannon. She also appears in G. W. Parke Custis's painting, *The Field of Monmouth*. See Volume I, p. 342, note.

[1] This event has been immortalized in Longfellow's poem: "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns of Bethlehem, at the consecration of Pulaski's Banner," beginning: —

"When the dying flame of day,
Through the chancel shot its ray,"

The cold historical fact seems to have been, that Pulaski ordered one or more banners to be embroidered by the Moravian Sisters, who were accustomed to do artistic needlework to aid in the support of their house. A banner of Pulaski, the handiwork of the nuns of Bethlehem, is preserved by the Maryland Historical Society.

[2] Among women of the heroic type there should be included also Barbara Heck, mentioned above as the founder of Methodism in this country. "Barbara Heck put her brave soul against the rugged possibilities of the future, and throbbed into existence American Methodism." (Bishop Fowler.)

if this were not a fact our country would not be what it is in vigor, population, and the bed-rock civilization that comes from home training. Historically the emphasis laid upon the household arts, as cooking, sewing, care of the house and children, by so large a formative element of the population from the earliest period of German immigrations to the present time, cannot have resulted otherwise than in impressing the economic advantage of the principle and furnishing an example for imitation. German women have contributed far more to the greatness of the German race than is recorded in history; the superstructure is that which attracts attention, yet the security comes from the foundation of the building. "What every woman knows," is not unknown to the German woman, namely, that she is the making of her pompous, egotistic lord. The clever woman has a sense of humor, the loving a heart full of charity, and the noble woman a sense of duty helping her to make the sacrifice of subordination for the welfare of her race.

(7) *German traits*

The Germans in the United States have furnished an example of the humbler virtues which constitute, nevertheless, the backbone of good citizenship, such as respect for the law, honesty and promptness in the discharge of business obligations, dogged persistence, industry, and economy. Their respect for the law, and for the officers that represent it, is inbred with them, an inheritance due to conditions in the Fatherland. The German immigrant is as greatly shocked by the evasion of the law as the native American is frequently amused at its observance by the newcomer. Wherever the Germans have settled in large numbers, the community has received a peculiar stamp which makes for the observance of law and order, and the

virtues that produce prosperous homes. Such is the testimony of Benjamin Rush, cited repeatedly before. The Texas Germans, settled in the region of New Braunfels and San Antonio, in Corral, Gillespie, and Medina counties, "have a state reputation as a law-abiding community."[1] In regard to the people of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who have even longer upheld a reputation for being orderly and law-abiding, the writer picked up an interesting comment while traveling in that region during the past year. A detective, whose business it was to catch thieves among the trolley conductors, declared that it was his experience that in Lancaster County he found fewer thieves than anywhere else in his large circuit. In North Carolina in the eighteenth century, we find the agricultural Germans making a similar record of moral citizenship. In the reminiscences of the Reverend Arnold Roschen, we find: "The Reverend Storch and I recently passed by the court-house in Salisbury, at the moment when a man was standing in the pillory. A German called to us to stop a while and see how the Americans punished rogues and thieves. Upon my asking him, the criminal is

[1] Ex-President Roosevelt commended them on this reputation some few years ago on a trip through Texas. Mr. Alfred H. Stone, author of *Studies in the American Race Problem*, with an introduction and three papers by W. F. Willcox (New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1908), called the writer's attention to this fact and also the following: Though the people of New Braunfels are exemplary as law-abiding citizens, on the race question they stand as other Southern people do. A case of rape occurred in New Braunfels shortly after President Roosevelt's visit. The case was that of a German child, the four-year-old daughter of William Karbach, a German farmer on the outskirts of the town. The outrage was committed by a negro, Sam Green, sixteen years old. The Germans are said to have turned out in full force, and the negro was shot while in his cell by the mob, who were unable to effect an entrance. The negro was in the employ of Karbach at the time of the crime. The shooting is said to have been done by the people of New Braunfels, and the mayor, a German, to have been at heart in sympathy with the lynchers.

certainly not a German? — I received the literally true reply: 'Never has a German stood in the pillory in Salisbury; nor has ever a German been hung in this place.'"[1] Dr. Rush speaks as highly of the Pennsylvania-Germans: "Such has been the influence of pious education among the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania, that in the course of nineteen years only one of them has ever been brought to a place of public shame or punishment."[2]

The German pays his debts. Honesty is the virtue which is the foundation of all business enterprise. The German tradesman, mechanic, and agriculturist possessed this quality from the earliest period. Again Dr. Rush brings testimony: "They are industrious, frugal, punctual, and just. As merchants they are candid and punctual." "The Bank of North America has witnessed, from its first institution, their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements." Among the early Pennsylvania-Germans, Christopher Ludwig, the superintendent of bakers for the Continental armies of the Revolutionary War, is on record as the original anti-grafter. When he was required to furnish only one hundred pounds of bread out of one hundred pounds of flour, as his predecessors had done, he declared that he did not wish to grow rich at the expense of the government. Out of one hundred pounds of flour one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread could be baked (because of the weight of the added water), and that is what he proposed to do. He carried out his purpose, although all his predecessors had furnished but one hundred pounds of bread out of the same weight of flour. "The honest friend" of Wash-

[1] Cf. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, p. 332.

[2] Cf. Benjamin Rush, *Essays* (*An account of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*), pp. 235–237.

ington was a tower of moral strength in his generation. A modern instance of honesty in high financial transactions is furnished by the house of Middendorf and Company, of Baltimore, the founder of which, J. William Middendorf, is of German parentage. A few years ago there appeared in a Baltimore paper[1] an account of the settlement in full of the debt of the two banking firms, J. W. Middendorf and Company of Baltimore, and J. L. Williams and Sons of Richmond, Virginia. These two firms had engaged in large enterprises for the development of the South, and unexpectedly found their capital locked up, so that they needed an extension of credit. The debts of the two firms amounted at the time to twelve million dollars. They declared to their creditors that if given time they would settle for every penny, with interest. "It is easily conceivable how these two firms with great profit to themselves could have wound up their affairs quickly, their creditors meeting a heavy loss, and the only public comment being 'it was nothing more than the chances of business.'" Such are the daily occurrences in high finance; but within less than two years the firm accomplished all they had promised, and if at the close they did not themselves get any of the spoils, they at least gained a reputation for integrity, and they proved their ability under trying circumstances, which is equal to a capital of a dozen millions. This old-fashioned business honesty, the editorial writer is proud to call typically representative of his city. It is just as typical of the German tradition. One of the most noted cases of model financiering was that of Francis E. Spinner, appointed United States Treasurer in 1861 by President Lincoln, serving through the entire critical period of the Civil War, and then ten years more, and when, in 1875,

[1] *The Baltimore Evening News*, May 2, 1905.

he resigned his post as Treasurer, his accounts were absolutely clean to the last penny. Spinner was a son of the Mohawk Germans.[1] Many of the great German merchant princes gained the enviable reputation of spotless integrity in all their business dealings, typical in which class was John Jacob Astor and his son, William B. Astor, both of whom also were modest in their habits of life and were very fond of books and study.[2]

Professor F. J. Turner[3] gives as one of the influences of the German element, that "they have infused into the American stock and society a conservatism and sturdy persistence and solidity useful in moderating the nervous energy of the native Americans." The German, as farmer, mechanic, or business man, sticks to his colors; he is persistent, win or lose, in his particular profession; he continues in his devotion to it, either reaching the goal or dying in the attempt. This characteristic has been noted by the author, Charles Sealsfield, an acute and sympathetic observer of conditions in America between 1820 and 1827. In his German work on North America, he compares the American merchant with the European: "The American does not, like the Dutch or the German, break a new road and then keep on, even though the beginning does not promise good returns. As a tradesman he is an adventurer. I know more than fifty merchants, mostly Germans, who, by being satisfied with small profits in the beginning, have become rich. The American, on the contrary, will abandon any line of trade if he does not see immediate and large

[1] It was shown above that the Treasurer of the Southern Confederacy was also of German blood, viz., C. G. Memminger, born in Würtemberg. He likewise made an excellent record. Cf. *ante*, p. 180.

[2] Washington Irving was an intimate friend of John Jacob Astor. The poet Fitz-Greene Halleck was his secretary for seventeen years.

[3] *The Chicago Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

returns. He will jump from one thing to another. The German sticks to his trade and frequently also if he goes to ruin in it. In America, however, he generally succeeds in it, because through patience he can overcome the native competition."[1] The quality exhibited is the German stick-to-itiveness. It may be said also that on the one hand the object is to make money, and on the other it is not merely that, but also to advance the trade, to serve the guild, and to improve the methods of a particular branch of business.

Above all things the German loves his work. He is not forever exercising his ingenuity as to how he may do the least work for the most pay, or escape work altogether, but he plunges in and enjoys his work, knowing the force of the proverb, "Arbeit macht das Leben süss." So large a part of our native population of the laboring class do not understand that work gives strength, and they applaud themselves for their "smartness" if they can steal an hour from their employers, or stand idly by when the foreigner works. The writer, after residing in several sections of the country widely distant from one another, thinks he can safely generalize, and ventures to state his opinion, that where there is a very small or no German element in the population, it is harder to get any work[2] done, and it is far more difficult to get work done well. The German is satisfied to do his best in a humble occupation, and this applies both to men and to women. Dr. Rush tells us that the Pennsylvania-German brought up his children in the love of work, a tradition that has been kept up by the

[1] *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet.* Von C. Sidons (Charles Sealsfield), vol. i, p. 158. (1827.)

[2] Such work as carpentering, building, tailoring, baking, laundering, and the like; also day-labor and house-service.

nineteenth-century immigration. Many German business men of the present day, with an ambition to continue their house through another generation, put their sons through a vigorous apprenticeship, starting them at the lowest rung of the ladder, and insisting on industry and punctuality, and a thorough acquaintance with every detail of the business.

The sense of duty is inborn in the German, though he be unacquainted with the philosophy of Kant. It is a force within him as potent as the voice of conscience, and just as exacting. It keeps him at his work, forces him to respect law and authority, and frequently impels him to make sacrifices in which he loses all consideration of self. We need not go back for a host of historical examples when the present time can furnish abundant illustrations. When Senator Foelker at the risk of his life cast the deciding vote at Albany against race-track gambling, he was simply doing his duty as he saw it. A student of Cornell University, Oliver L. Schmuck, of Pennsylvania-German stock, went back into a burning building (the Chi Psi Fraternity House) to save the life of a comrade, and perished in the flames. Chief Kruger, for many years head of the New York City fire corps, lost his life in battle with fire and smoke. Henry Maurer, a Mennonite missionary from Indiana, was killed by Turkish bullets at Adana, Asia Minor, in the attempt to save the property and lives of others.

The German has furnished and continues to furnish an example of simple life and of home life. An eloquent advocate of the simple life (of German birth), has recently published a book on the subject.[1] The German is economical and thrifty, and has shown that plain living is conducive

[1] Charles Wagner, *The Simple Life.* (McClure, 1904.)

to health and progress. The middle-class German is fond of home life, and takes his family with him in pursuit of simple pleasures. With excellent good-humor even the cultivated German has frequently accepted the conditions of plainest living until his estate might improve. Charles Leland's comments upon this trait have already been noted.[1] Frederick Law Olmsted, in his Southern travels just before the War, made the following observations on the Texas Germans: "There is something extremely striking in the temporary incongruities and bizarre contrasts of these [German] backwoods settlers. You are welcomed by a figure in blue flannel shirt and pendant beard, quoting Tacitus; Madonnas on log walls; coffee in tin cups upon Dresden saucers; barrels for seats to hear a Beethoven symphony on the grand piano; 'my wife made these pantaloons and my stockings grew in the field yonder'; a bookcase half filled with classics, half with sweet potatoes."[2]

A strong trait of the German is his individualism. It is seen in his independence in politics, his particularism in religion, his agitation for personal liberty. He has no feeble fear of what his neighbors think of him, nor does he care to conform for the sake of conformity to the common pattern of wearing-apparel and social form. This trait may frequently lead to excess, to isolation, or to lack of coöperation, but it is also an excellent bar against the crushing of the individual by commonplace democratic standards. It is invaluable as the "infusion of German

[1] See *ante*, Chapter VII (Literature).

[2] F. L. Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas, or a Saddle-trip on the Southwest Frontier*, p. 430. (New York, Mason Brothers, 1859.) Olmsted estimates that there were about thirty-five thousand Germans in the whole of Texas at the time, twenty-five thousand in Western Texas. His description of their abolitionist attitude is very interesting.

sturdiness and conservatism moderating the nervous energy of the native Americans."

Lastly the trait of idealism should receive a word of comment. It has probably received more attention than any other characteristic of the Germans, in books that have been written in hot haste, and speeches that have been made after dinner. Idealism is the heritage of the German through his literature, philosophy, and religion. In America, the German was met halfway by the idealism of the Puritanic element, and the two combined have created some of the grandest institutions of the country, colleges and universities, music and fine arts. Heretofore perhaps the idealism of the American has necessarily been directed toward the development of the great resources of the country; the German element also has large numbers of representatives among the captains of industry. The idealism, however, which has acted as a social influence through the German element, and which should therefore be most appreciated, is that which has diverted attention from material things to those which make life more beautiful and joyous. That idealism has been well defined by an American who has carefully studied the German here and abroad, and twice represented the American nation in the home of the Germans:[1] "The dominant idea is, as I understand it, that the ultimate end of a great modern nation is something besides manufacturing, or carrying, or buying or selling products; that art, literature, science, and thought, in its highest flights and widest ranges, are greater and more important; and that highest of all — is the one growth for which all wealth exists — is the higher and better development of man, not merely as a planner or a

[1] Cf. A. D. White, *Some Practical Influences of German Thought upon the United States*, p. 12.

worker, or a carrier, or a buyer or seller, but as a *man*. In no land has this idea penetrated more deeply than in Germany, and it is this idea which should penetrate more and more American thought and practice."[1] Emblematic of the spirit of kinship between the German and the American people was the enthusiastic reception given Prince Henry of Prussia on his visit to the United States in 1902. His coming was a message of one Germanic nation to another, denoting friendship, peace, and goodwill, and was accepted with the cordiality that had prompted it.

Recapitulating what has been brought forward in the present chapter on the social and moral influence of the German element, it has been shown that, in addition to a large share in the introduction of music and the fine arts in the United States, the Germans have exerted themselves to impress upon the American people the joy of living, giving greater prominence to merrymaking, festivals, and the Christmas celebration. They have insisted on the care of the body, with needed food and drink, and introduced gymnastic exercises in schools and also in social clubs called "Turnvereine"; medical care of the body was provided by German physicians, who from the earliest period have been prominent in the medical history of our country. In every city with a large German population there has existed an independent social life among

[1] Germany's ideals of the present have not declined. They have been defined by no one better than by Professor Kuno Francke (in *German Ideals of To-day*, p. 50), as follows: "Social justice as the controlling force in the development of political institutions, social efficiency as the goal of education, universal sympathy with life as the guiding principle of literature and art — this is a triad of uplifting motives which cannot help stimulating every constructive energy, every power of good, contained in the nation."

the Germans. Throughout their history in the United States the Germans have been a religious people or thinkers on religion. Several large denominations have been founded by them, others have been strengthened by their large membership, and the liberal movements in American churches have been under the influence of German theology. German-American philanthropists have bestowed money and energy upon educational and benevolent institutions, and German-American women have had able representatives in literature, music, art, and philanthropy.

The German traits are such as to unite the various formative elements of the American people more securely and harmoniously. In common with the English stock of New England, the German is inspired with idealism, the origin of education, music, and art; he shares with the Scot a stern conscience and a keen sense of duty; he touches the Irish with his emotional nature, his joy of living, and his sense of humor; and, thus linking the great national elements together, the German provides the backbone, with the physical and mental qualities of vigor, sturdiness, and vitality, and the moral tone of genuineness, virility, and aspiration.

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[1] The titles on the following pages do not aim to exhaust the list of books, monographs, and articles, that treat of the subject of the German Element in the United States. This bibliography includes mainly such works as have been useful or suggestive in the preparation of the foregoing work. Going beyond this, the compiler has attempted to make a comprehensive list, in order to extend its usefulness for others. An attempt at a complete bibliography of the subject is being made by Richard E. Helbig, Assistant Librarian, New York Public Library. It already exceeds ten thousand titles, and its publication is eminently desirable for the aid it will give to researches in this field.

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